

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM  
RELEASE IN FULL 1995

8 JAN 1962

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Reference is made to your letter of 30 December 1961 addressed to Mr. McCone, requesting a list of instances of Castro subversive or other interventionist activities in Latin America which could be used in strengthening a United States request for strong measures against Cuba.

Attached hereto is a memorandum containing information which has been declassified and documented factually in order to meet the President's needs at the forthcoming meeting of Foreign Ministers at Montevideo, Uruguay, being held 22 January 1962.

Sincerely,

Signed C. P. Cabell

C. P. Cabell  
General, USAF  
Deputy Director

The Honorable U. Alexis Johnson  
Deputy Under Secretary of State

Distribution:

Original & 1 - Addressee  
1 - DCI *ER*  
1 - DDCI  
1 - DD/P  
1 - DD  
1 - C/  
2 - WH

ER-File

7 January 1962

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Castro Subversive or Other Interventionist Activities in Latin America

I. Castro Sponsored Invasion Activities

A. Costa Rica

On 12 July 1961 the director of the Costa Rican Civil Guard denounced a Communist CASTRO-type plan to promote subversive activities in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama with the objective of overthrowing the governments of those nations. The Civil Guard director reported discovery of secret landing fields, presumably used for the traffic of arms to the northern border. Nicaraguans living in San Jose, and some Costa Rican citizens, were involved in these activities.

On 27 May 1961, Eduardo MORA Valverde, Costa Rican Communist leader, returned to Costa Rica from Cuba, where he had attended May Day celebrations. He had several meetings with Communist Party leaders there, including Blas ROCA, and he met with "Che" GUEVARA. On 5 June MORA spoke to about 150 people assembled at Communist Party headquarters in San Jose. He described the May Day events in Cuba and GUEVARA's industrialization program. He told members of the National Political Commission of the Costa Rican Communist Party (PVP) that his meetings with ROCA had been very interesting. ROCA told MORA that the idea of using political parties is now obsolete, since the Cuban revolution showed definitely that violence and force are the more effective means of accomplishing the revolution throughout Latin America. MORA spoke to a workers' meeting in San Jose in late June. He praised the Cuban revolution and said that the PVP, of which he was the founder and principal leader, will be the instrument of struggle with which the people of Costa Rica will create their revolution.

B. Dominican Republic

On 14 June 1959 an invasion force based on Cuba landed in the Dominican Republic, commanded by Enrique JIMENEZ Moya, and upon his death by Delio GOMEZ Ochoa, an officer of the 26th of July Movement. The force was equipped by the CASTRO government and trained on Cuban soil. Two of the three groups which left Cuba between the 13th and 20th of June were annihilated with a loss of 250 men. Cuban ships

- 2 -

had accompanied the invaders to within 30 miles of the Dominican coast, but were not in a position to help them when the invaders were discovered by a Dominican warship which attacked them. Some of those who were successful in landing escaped into the hills, but were eventually eliminated. By 2 September all the invaders had reportedly been killed.

Training of Dominican revolutionaries in Cuba continued throughout the summer of 1959. Then, early in September, Fidel CASTRO ordered that the training of Dominican exiles in Madruga, Habana, and Ciego de Avila cease. The reason for this change in policy was thought to be a reaction to international criticism of Cuba as a spawning area for Caribbean revolutions. The anti-TRUJILLO campaign in the Cuban press continued unabated, however.

Report of a subsequent invasion threat from Cuba reached the Dominican Government in mid-December 1959. Troops allegedly being trained at Bauta, Cuba, were to have embarked from Santiago de Cuba and were supposed to invade the Dominican Republic through Haiti. This invasion did not materialize.

The Cuban Government, according to Dominican Communist, "Freddie" DOUCOUDRAY, was still furnishing arms to Dominican revolutionaries and training them in sabotage techniques as late as February 1960.

"Che" GUEVARA is said to have made visits to the Dominican Republic in July and October 1961 for meetings with Ramfis TRUJILLO for the purpose of negotiating an economic and military agreement with the Dominican Republic.

Shortly after Rafael TRUJILLO was assassinated, Ramon GRULLON, Dominican Communist in Mexico, reportedly began to make plans with Jose ESPAILLAT of New York and other Dominican Communists to meet in Habana on 9 June 1961. They hoped to capitalize on TRUJILLO's death by seeking timely financial aid from Cuba.

#### C. El Salvador

CASTRO's designs on El Salvador have been made plain in various ways. In May 1960 Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA expressed to the Cuban Minister of Labor his satisfaction with revolutionary preparations in El Salvador. He said he was planning to give \$100,000 to the group which would assume control of the country after the revolution.

In March 1961 the Government of El Salvador announced the expulsion of the Cuban Charge d'Affaires, Roberto LASALLE, accusing

- 3 -

him of subversive activities and contacts with Communists after documents sent by LASALLE to Cuban Armed Forces Minister Raul CASTRO, brother of Fidel CASTRO, had been intercepted. The Government made public photostatic copies of two documents which it said contained "abundant and valuable evidence" which would break a ring of "espionage and agitation" set up by the Cuban Government with the aid of rebels in El Salvador. It charged that LASALLE held secret meetings with Communists, interviewed Communist agents and sent coded messages to Habana for arms and training material to be sent secretly to El Salvador.

D. Guatemala

Guatemala has been given a high priority in Cuban subversive plans, probably as a result of "Che" GUEVARA's personal interest in the country, and because of the strong reaction of the government of President YDIGORAS against CASTRO which resulted in the suspension of diplomatic relations in April 1960. On a broader level, it can be surmised that the USSR has a particular interest in resuming the communization of the country begun during the ARBENZ regime.

Cuba began to serve as a base for subversion against the government of Guatemala in the late fall of 1959, when some twenty members of the Partido Revolucionario Autentico (PRA) and other revolutionary groups went to Cuba to solicit, successfully, financial aid from the CASTRO regime to be used in elections and for revolutionary undertakings. The activities of former Guatemalan President ARBENZ in Cuba have not been concealed. In the 1960 festivities celebrating the 26th of July anniversary, ARBENZ was seated with the Cuban leaders. In speaking to the assembled crowd, he said that he would soon be in the Government Palace of Guatemala speaking to "his beloved people." A few months later, in September, he spoke at Habana University, saying that "the next Guatemalan Government" would follow CASTRO's example.

The Cuban Government permitted Guatemalan revolutionaries to whom asylum in Cuba had been extended to raise money by selling bonds. Among the leaders of the exile group was Humberto PINEDA Catalan, who arranged aviation training in Cuba, at the Cuban Government's expense, for the son of Rogelio CRUZ Wer, former Guatemalan Civil Guard chief. PINEDA was employed in the Cuban Ministry of Commerce and in April 1960 traveled to Mexico on an official Cuban passport arranged by "Che" GUEVARA.

Beginning in 1959 with "Che" GUEVARA's gift of \$10,000 to the Partido Revolucionario Autentico (PRA) representatives who sought



- 4 -

his aid, further financing of revolutionary activities was effected in late April 1960 when Col. Carlos PAZ Tejada, Guatemalan leftist leader, went to El Salvador and returned to Guatemala with two Cubans and considerable money. PAZ was believed to have received the money through Maria Vilanova de ARBENZ, wife of ARBENZ, who had been in El Salvador for about two months, ostensibly for medical treatment.

In June 1960 Guatemalan Communists were in contact with Cuban Communists and transported weapons from Cuba to Guatemala to be used in a revolutionary attempt. Throughout the summer, arms were assembled in El Salvador for subsequent delivery to Guatemala.

On 24 August 1960, forces to invade Guatemala were readied in the Pinar del Rio Province of Cuba with arms for a force of approximately 250 men. In late August, a claim was made that members of the Partido Unidad Revolucionario (PUR - Communist controlled extremist party) and the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR) were waiting to ship hand grenades, machine guns and ammunition from a neighboring country to militia units in Guatemala under Col. PAZ. The arms were already in the neighboring country, with the question to be decided whether to ship by air or land. According to another report, at this time, the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT - Guatemalan Communist Party) and PUR members were daily shipping arms already in Guatemala City to outlying areas.

"Che" GUEVARA has said that arms and money would be given for the revolution in Guatemala provided the PGT were given the principal directing role. This broad policy was confirmed in statements made by Raul CASTRO. Both have said that anyone arriving in Cuba from another country to obtain arms and other aid for an insurrection must have assurance of help from that country's communist party; with such support, they would be given aid.

On 24 October 1961 it was announced from Honduras that a subversive plan was being hatched against Guatemala. Radio La Voz de Honduras broadcast that the national and international secret services had confirmed this plot which had been mentioned by the daily Impacto on 18 October. La Voz de Honduras went on to say that the same sources confirmed the latent existence of a huge plot being organized from Habana which had been in preparation for months, but had not been carried out because the Guatemalan people traditionally back the constitutional regime.

The latest information received states that action against Guatemala was planned as follows:

- 1) Air raids by Russian-made jets to sow terror among the

- 5 -

people.

- 2) Air bombing to liquidate the airports and military posts. This would be followed by a strong troop disembarkment which would be headed by Col. ARENIZ Guzman, who has complete knowledge of the Guatemalan defense, and, with his Communist contacts in Guatemala, believes that his plan could succeed.

Other information from Guatemala says that the Communists, and also anti-Communists who are enemies of the constitutional regime in Guatemala, are waiting for "D-Day."

#### E. Haiti

There was an invasion of Haiti on August 13, 1959. It originated in Cuba under the direction of a Cuban Army Captain named Rangel GUERRERO, and it was composed of approximately 30 men. When they landed, 25 of the 30 were killed; 5 survived and were imprisoned and later returned to Cuba in exchange for certain Haitian prisoners in Cuba.

Preparations were said to be under way in March 1961 for an invasion of Haiti at an undisclosed date. The Communists in Venezuela planned to provide arms and volunteers for the Haitian exiles to be used in support of the main landing force, which was to originate in Cuba, with Cuba supplementing existing stocks of arms in Venezuela. The Patriotic Haitian Movement, consisting of all factions of the opposition, had a plan to install Dr. Stephen ALEXIS, prominent Haitian Communist exile, as head of a provisional government after the downfall of the present regime. ALEXIS's son, Dr. Jacques ALEXIS, also affiliated with the Communist Party, has made several trips to Moscow and Prague. In December 1960 he reportedly visited Cuba where he met with Fidel CASTRO and Cuban and Venezuelan Communists.

A landing was reported to have taken place sometime in the latter part of 1960 or the early part of 1961 and to have originated in Cuba. The landing consisted of about 5 or 6 men. It is believed that they were either imprisoned or executed.

The Haitian Government had information in April 1961 that a group which was captured near Fort Liberte had proceeded by sea from Cuba. Among the persons captured was Jacques ALEXIS.

#### F. Nicaragua and Honduras

The Frente Unitario Nicaraguense (FUN - Nicaraguan United

- 6 -

Front), Cuban-supported movement to oust the SOMOZAs, is clearly identified as the force behind the main anti-government action inside and outside Nicaragua. It is the principal coordinating agency for anti-SOMOZA activities under Cuban sponsorship.

The FUN was founded in Maracaibo in May 1960. Its headquarters is in Caracas, and it operates in most of the countries near Nicaragua. Within Nicaragua it functions clandestinely under the name of Juventud Patriotica (JP). The FUN was directed from Cuba by means of orders given by Fidel CASTRO, "Che" GUEVARA, and Raul CASTRO to Francisco FRIXIONE Saravia, who was FUN representative in Habana until early November 1961. Funding is carried out by the Cuban Embassies in the countries in which there are FUN representatives.

Prior to the creation of FUN, revolutionary activity though not so intensive was evident. In June 1959 a group of assorted Nicaraguans and foreigners, equipped and trained in Cuba, attempted an invasion of Nicaragua. This attempt was frustrated.

On 25 October 1959 a high-level meeting of Caribbean revolutionary leaders reportedly was held to discuss plans and strategy for a coming invasion of Nicaragua as the first step in a general campaign to eliminate all Caribbean tyrants. Among those attending this meeting were Fidel and Raul CASTRO; "Che" GUEVARA; representatives from Nicaragua, Mexico, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic; and Dr. Francisco AGUIRRE and his brother. (AGUIRRE is possibly identical with Francisco AGUIRRE Baca, prominent anti-SOMOZA revolutionary who lives in Washington, D.C.)

At that time enough arms had been delivered to supply 1,500 men. Most of these arms had already been transported to Costa Rica, Honduras, and Mexico. What was left in Cuba would supply the groups who were going directly to Nicaragua.

In mid-December 1959 a group of 60 to 70 Honduran mercenaries and Nicaraguan rebels was training in the mountains of Honduras within a few miles of the Nicaraguan frontier. The group, which maintained daily radio contact with Cuba, was led by Joaquin "Che" BASANTA Lopez, who travelled frequently to Cuba.

During the week of 7 February 1960 Alberto LAGEZ, a Nicaraguan revolutionist, had an interview with "Che" GUEVARA, seeking Cuban support for an expedition against Nicaragua. It was during this meeting that the conditions of the CASTRO aid were first laid down, i.e., the success of the invaders in gaining a foothold.

At the same time Dr. Francisco FRIXIONE, a Nicaraguan national

- 7 -

and member of the Nicaraguan exile movement in Cuba, was shipping arms to Honduras.

On 27 February an incursion led by Harold MARTINEZ Saenz was easily defeated by the Government of Nicaragua forces. The foothold had not been established, and Cuban aid thus was not forthcoming. The remnants of the MARTINEZ force surrendered to authorities in Honduras and in July, MARTINEZ and the remainder of his group were sent to Habana by plane.

BASANTA's group scheduled an attack between 5-23 April 1960. However, after BASANTA visited Cuba as the result of an urgent call, the attack did not materialize.

In June 1960 the President of Nicaragua said that a Nicaraguan agent had been paid \$5,000 by the Cuban Ambassador to carry out domestic disturbances timed to an invasion from Honduras which the Cuban Ambassador had coordinated during his recent visit there. The money and other details which it was impossible for the Cuban Ambassador to deny were in the President's hands. President SOMOZA announced on 1 June 1960, that he had requested recall of Cuban Ambassador Quintin PINO Machado and all members of the Embassy.

The intensification of revolutionary activities directed from Cuba was related to agreements reached during a series of secret meetings held by delegates to the First Latin American Youth Congress held in Habana 26 July - 6 August 1960. These meetings, which were restricted to leaders of the congress, laid specific plans for increased effort in revolutionary agitation and, in addition, resolved to initiate or support anti-government movements against Nicaragua, Paraguay, and the Dominican Republic.

In September 1960 an anti-government plot was discovered in Managua. When Fabian RUIZ Mairena was arrested he said that he had been in charge of distribution of weapons that had been sent from Cuba.

Another attempt against the government was planned for October 1960, with the cooperation of the Juventud Patriotica Nicaraguense. However, the attack for 27 October was postponed.

In November a group of Nicaraguan rebels, concentrated in Costa Rica for the apparent purpose of invading Nicaragua, clashed in combat with forces dispatched by the Costa Rican Government to investigate the situation. President SOMOZA declared that there were many Cubans among the rebels and that the group was well equipped by Fidel CASTRO.

- 8 -

In December 1960 Julio GARCIA was arrested for participating in the preparation of an invasion of Nicaragua from Honduran soil. GARCIA stated that Dr. Francisco FRIKIONE and Miss Margot BANDERA (Cuban) were planning to purchase arms in California to be carried into Honduras by an American.

Edelberto TORRES Espinosa is Secretary-General of the FUN in Mexico. In January or February 1961 FUN received \$57,000 to start a revolution in Nicaragua. FUN was sending for Alejandro MARTINEZ Saenz, then in Cuba, to lead the invasion from Honduras, where the FUN is active.

There were two groups of anti-SOMOZA rebels in Honduras in February 1961. One group consisted of approximately 25 men, and the other of 50 men. Ninety per cent of the rebels in Honduras were under the overall command of Guillermo URBINA Vasquez, whose military chief in Honduras was Alejandro MARTINEZ Saenz. MARTINEZ's group, which has Communist-CASTRO connections, is of mixed nationality. Ten per cent of the rebels were under the leadership of Francisco FRIKIONE.

At a press conference in March 1961 President SOMOZA stated that he had information and documents indicating that the Cuban Government planned to invade Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Salvador. The invasion was expected to come from Honduras. SOMOZA said that Costa Rican Deputy Marcial AGUIJUZ was conspiring against Nicaragua and receiving aid from Cuba.

It was planned, if Cuban participation in invasion plans in early April 1961 were discovered, to provoke a conflict between Presidents SOMOZA and ECHANDI, to cause a break in diplomatic relations. Aerial bombardment of the Presidential palace was planned. FUN was to participate.

The early April invasion from Costa Rica and the Atlantic Coast was frustrated.

Nicaraguan revolutionary leaders expected to have another invasion group ready to move by mid-June 1961. A sabotage effort was planned, coupled with internal strikes, rather than an invasion alone.

In July the FUN planned to send Julio Cesar MAYORGA Portocarrero from Costa Rica to help direct the revolt in the Leon area.

On 18 July 1961 San Jose Radio Monumental reported rumors of an invasion of Nicaragua from Costa Rica. Costa Ricans were to

- 9 -

participate in the movement. Silvio MAYORGA, who had returned recently from the Soviet Union, was named as the person in Cuba in charge of organizing and planning aid for this movement.

Cuban Fidelista elements had been observed in the San Carlos area in Costa Rica, from which a band was bent on invading Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan Revolutionary Movement, organized by the FUN, planned an attack on the Nicaraguan Government toward the end of July 1961. The movement was to be supported by the Independent Liberal Party and led by Indalecio PASTORA.

According to one plan, PASTORA was to arrive in Costa Rica from El Salvador under alias and take charge of the revolutionary movement. Once this attack began, Cuban guerrilla experts waiting in the mountain frontier areas were to assist in leadership in the revolt. In San Jose Dr. Emilio BORGE Gonzalez, a FUN leader, gave daily instruction in guerrilla warfare and sabotage to a group of workers.

There was another report of an attack of three revolutionary groups on the Honduran frontier which was expected the night of 25 July 1961. Leaders of this movement were said to be Harold MARTINEZ, Indalecio PASTORA, and General Miguel Angel RAMIREZ.

Concerning Cuba's plot to "accelerate" the invasion against Central America, there is one report that Spanish General BAYO who trained the rebels who landed with CASTRO in the Sierra Maestra, was in charge of operations. A son of BAYO went to Honduras early in May 1961 with a large sum of money to make preparations. He posed as an investor in property. Manuel GOMEZ, formerly of the Nicaraguan Guardia Nacional, was named by BAYO as leader of one group and directed to proceed to Honduras. Operations were to be organized and conducted from the Honduran border. A large-scale movement was prepared against Nicaragua. The plot appears to have been coordinated by rebel groups in Mexico and Honduras and directed by Cuba.

In July and August 1961, revolutionary groups to take action against the SOMOZA government were trained in Nicaragua and Honduras. Revolutionary plans included a disembarking of Cuban and Nicaraguan troops on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. The expeditionary force was composed of 150 poorly-trained men who were to arrive in a small vessel which was purchased or rented in Mexico by Nicaraguan revolutionaries.



- 10 -

In Honduras, at El Chaparral, there were in readiness 100 men under the command of SIERRA (fmu), a Nicaraguan military leader. This group, together with a group headed by Indalecio PASTORA, was scheduled to attack Nicaragua simultaneously with the calling of a student strike.

Small aircraft carrying arms and equipment were operating from Honduras to Bahia de Santa Elena, where there is an old landing strip; a beach known as "Bonita" was also being used. Revolutionaries were to be transported by air to a point near Rivas, Nicaragua, where they planned to take control of a hill known as El Papayal and convert it into a "Sierra Maestra Nicaraguense."

Wilfredo GONZALEZ and Hector GALLO Portieles left Habana for Honduras in August 1961. GONZALEZ carried with him orders for Indalecio PASTORA to enter Nicaragua and be ready to receive the aid which was to be given. The movement of arms from Panama had been accelerated.

An organized opposition movement in Nicaragua was well armed with M-1 rifles and weapons manufactured in the Dominican Republic. The movement was strongly supported by Communist elements and well financed from Cuba.

The Nicaraguan Communist movement was split in August 1961 on the question of revolution in Nicaragua. The young Communist activists wanted immediate revolution and appeared to be receiving guidance from Cuba.

On 7 August 1961 Costa Rican authorities arrested Ignacio ERIONES Torres, Nicaraguan revolutionary leader of FUN. He was deported to Panama on 9 August. ERIONES had been trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfare in Cuba.

In September 1961, AFP reported that Nicaraguan military authorities had discovered plans for an invasion to be financed by Fidel CASTRO. After Julio MAYORGA, Nicaraguan revolutionary, was captured at Managua airport he told authorities that the plan called for an invasion of Nicaragua in December, and that some of the arms had been purchased in Honduras. MAYORGA revealed that some of the conspirators were in direct contact with Fidel CASTRO and "Che" GUEVARA. MAYORGA admitted that his organizations have funds in Cuba.

The plan was to invade from the north and south. CASTRO had ordered that money be given to the leaders of the Nicaraguan revolutionary union who were living in Venezuela for the purchase of arms in Honduras. Some of the arms had already been brought clandestinely into Nicaragua.



- 11 -

An invasion of Nicaragua from Costa Rica and Honduras was reportedly scheduled for 27 September 1961. The FUN was to attack from Costa Rica. This was to have been coordinated with an invasion from Honduras by a group of 90 men.

On 5 October 1961 SOMOZA accused CASTRO's government of economically supporting an armed movement against Nicaragua.

Presidential Secretary Orlando BUITRAGO declared on 11 October that the Government was in possession of information indicating preparation of a plan for invasion organized and financed with the support of the Cuban regime. He added that the plan was tied in with subversive elements which were operating in Honduran territory.

In October Eloy FUERRERO Santiago was said to be in charge of all organizational and administrative matters for a Nicaraguan revolutionary group in Honduras, which includes Carlos FOMESCA Amador and Silvio MAYORGA Delgado. FUERRERO has the cooperation of Virgilio AGUILUZ, Assistant Attorney-General of Honduras, who arranges radio communications between FOMESCA and Nicaraguan rebels in Honduras, Nicaragua, and other countries.

Money is sent from Habana via Mexico to the Honduran group, which uses it to buy arms. The exact quantity of arms available to the movement is not known, but it is believed to be increasing daily.

Recently small groups of Nicaraguans who have been in Cuba began arriving in Honduras via Mexico. The last known to arrive was Orlando ROSALES, a known Communist. He was believed to be in Honduras to inspect the progress of the Communist-sponsored Nicaraguan rebel movement, and afterwards to return to Cuba to report.

The FOMESCA group is not simply planning to remove the SOMOZAS but also to establish a Communist regime in Nicaragua.

#### G. Panama

Less than four months after Fidel CASTRO took power in Cuba, the 25-ton yacht, Majare, carrying 88 Cubans under a Cuban commander, landed (25 April 1959) on the Atlantic coast of Panama 50 miles east of Colon. Their mission was to effect, in combination with local Panamanian revolutionaries, the overthrow of the legally constituted Government of Panama. The Majare had sailed from Surgidero de Batabano on Cuba's south coast, 33 miles from Habana. This attempt was thwarted by rapid and effective action taken by the

- 12 -

Organization of American States (OAS).

The Cuban Government denied knowledge or sponsorship of the invasion. Nevertheless, the Government of Panama, on the basis of information in its possession, had requested the Cuban Government on 14 April to prevent the departure of an expeditionary force reportedly being readied to invade Panama. Fidel CASTRO's brother, Raul CASTRO, was assigned to investigate the Panamanian Government's representation. Yet the Majare departed Cuba unhindered by the Cuban Government. Moreover, the Cuban Government refused to permit the OAS Special Investigating Committee to enter Cuba to carry out its assigned duties to investigate problems of unrest in the Caribbean.

In October 1959 two groups of Panamanian revolutionaries numbering about 40 were being trained near Habana. One of the leaders, Alberto CUELLA Arosemena, was dispatched from Habana to Panama on 5 November 1959 to assess the revolutionary climate. Other Panamanians, including an architect named Samuel GUTIERREZ and a student leader named Andres CANTILLO, stated that they were in contact with officials of the CASTRO Government who were aiding them morally and financially.

Roberto ARIAS, leader of the 1959 attempts to overthrow the Panamanian Government, continued to be active in plotting against the Government during 1960. On 10 October 1960, during his visit to Panama, he was in contact with the Cuban Ambassador. He has made violent revolutionary statements and outspokenly endorsed the CASTRO regime.

On 6 December 1960 the Government of Panama gave the Cuban Consul in Colon, Adolfo MARTI, 48 hours to leave Panama. MARTI's agitation for and advocacy of the violent overthrow of the legally constituted Government of Panama were well known to Panamanian government authorities.

The Government requested the recall by the Cuban Government of its Ambassador to Panama, Jose Antonio CABRERA, and he departed Panama on 10 January 1961. In accordance with the policy of his Government that the Cuban revolution should be spread throughout Latin America, Ambassador CABRERA worked closely with revolutionary minority groups, including the Communists, toward promoting the overthrow of the legally constituted Government of Panama. On 25 March 1960 CABRERA had financed and personally participated in a public meeting at which printed propaganda called for the re-enactment in Panama of the Cuban revolution. Travel to Cuba of Panamanian revolutionaries for indoctrination and military training was financed by the Ambassador.

-13-

## II. Other Castro Subversive Activities in Latin America

### A. Violence and Incitement to Revolution

Saul CASTRO's speech of 27 March 1960 in Habana propounded the view that "Cuba is the first nation to start the second revolution," and that the infinite array of the revolution "starts in Cuba and ends in Argentina." He stated that people know "that by defending the Cuban revolution they are defending the Latin American revolution." CASTRO also announced that brigades of volunteers were being formed in Venezuela and Bolivia to defend the Cuban revolution.

At the close of the Week of Solidarity with the Struggles of the Latin American Peoples, held in Habana in March 1960 under the sponsorship of the Cuban Labor Confederation (CTC), a manifesto was issued calling for the initiation of a revolution in Latin America. Various radio broadcasts from Habana urged revolution in the United States.

In early 1960 the Castro Government appeared to be most interested in fomenting revolution in relatively faraway Ecuador. In the middle of January 1960 representatives of revolutionary movements in Ecuador were told by their coordinator they could count on receiving arms from Cuba through Benjamin CARRION, founder of the Movimiento por Segunda Independencia, foremost of the groups. A Castro spokesman stated that Cuba was buying up many arms, some of which could be diverted to a revolution in Ecuador. In a public address Antonio PAHRA Velasco, presidential candidate, stated that his program followed "the footsteps of Fidel Castro's revolutionary government" and a political associate stated that if PAHRA were not elected his group would start a revolution.

In July 1959 Antonio LAROTTA, leader of a subversive group in Colombia known as the Movimiento Obrero Estudiantil Campesino, travelled to Cuba and received military training. After his return, violent propaganda attacks against President Lleras, the most popular and respected man in Colombia, were begun.

In Peru the CASTRO regime has devoted considerable attention to widening the split between various elements in the APRA Party and has pinned its major hopes for revolutionary action on "Aprismo Rebelde" on the far left segment thereof. The question of Cuban supply of arms to this segment was discussed during the middle of 1959. An experienced Castro agent was dispatched from Cuba to Peru to study the terrain for the proposed revolution and to make recommendations as to how it should be conducted.

- 11 -

Puerto Rico has not been overlooked in CASTRO's plans. One of the more important objectives is to make contact with underground Puerto Rican Nationalists for the purpose of stimulating agitations.

Police in Jamaica uncovered a revolutionary plot on 11 April 1960. The leader of the plot, Claudius HENRY, had been in contact with CASTRO.

The Cuban Embassy in Mexico not only serves as a support point for Mexican and Central American revolutionary activities but as a center for espionage and terrorism against opponents of the CASTRO regime who have taken refuge in Mexico. A steady stream of Cuban intelligence agents moves in and out of Mexico. Agustin ALONSO Acosta, CASTRO's intelligence chief at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City, made a trip through Central America in December 1959 organizing revolutionary movements in several countries.

Fidel CASTRO emphasized to some of the Latin American delegates to the anniversary celebrations of the Cuban revolution in Habana in January 1961 that Brazil and Venezuela were the ideal countries for beginning guerrilla warfare at that time. He further stated that there were appropriate conditions for this in all Latin American countries. CASTRO stated that present conditions were much more favorable in other Latin American countries for armed action than conditions had been in Cuba when he and his supporters started their efforts. He gave advice in general terms on guerrilla tactics and emphasized the fact that these could change in accordance with the situation at each location. CASTRO further stated that if the delegates wanted a school for military training, he would gladly establish one.

Elas ROCA, secretary-general of the PEP, told Communist delegates to the anniversary celebrations that Latin American countries had a good example in the Cuban revolution. He stressed the fact, however, that it must be remembered that the Cuban revolution would be surpassed by other Latin American countries and each country would find new revolutionary recruits in accordance with the atmosphere.

The October and November riots in 1960 in Venezuela were a culmination of concerted efforts undertaken by the Cuban Government in conjunction with Venezuelan Communists to implement its determination to overthrow the government. Anti-government influences were given focus by guerrilla training following the Latin American Youth Congress in the late summer of 1960. Prato VIVAS, a well-known Venezuelan Communist who had travelled in

-15-

Cuba during July, 1960, was among those arrested as a result of demonstrations held 24 October 1960. VIVAS admitted to the National Guard that the riots were an attempt to topple the BETANCOURT Government. An insight into the success of the Venezuelan riots is provided by the fact that the Union Republicana Democratica (URD) received a sum in excess of \$100,000 to finance extreme left wing political action. The money was provided by the Cuban Government. Exploiting the unsettled conditions, the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) intends to take the fullest possible advantage of the disturbances in its campaign to oust the present Venezuelan regime.

Events in Venezuela were foreshadowed by a meeting held in October of five thousand persons in support of the Habana Declaration. The gathering was sponsored by the Lara State Committee of Friends of the Cuban Revolution and the UMB; Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR); and Communist Parties. A week later, Prensa Latina reported that on 13 October, hundreds of students, intellectuals, and professionals raised their hands and swore that they would defend the Cuban revolution with their lives. Within days, violence erupted in the streets of Caracas.

In the aftermath of civil disturbances in Venezuela, comments of Carlos Rafael RODRIGUEZ, director of the Cuban Communist newspaper Bohio, were significant. He implied that there is preference for a revolution on the Cuban model, i.e., one of great violence. Radio Cadena Nacional, Bogota, reported that the Venezuelan Government had expelled 10 Cubans and ordered the expulsion of 40 others, after substantiating that the Cubans had participated in terroristic and subversive acts in the country, particularly in the events which kept Caracas in a state of tension. It was otherwise reported that the Venezuelan Government had strong reason to believe that planes from Cuba had dropped arms destined for anti-Betancourt groups in the mountains of northwestern Venezuela.

In neighboring Colombia there were various rumors that the CASTRO Government was seeking contacts who could facilitate communications between the Cuban Government and revolutionaries within Colombia.

The New York Times on 24 November reported that, during three days beginning 29 October, two Super Constellations of Cubana Air Lines and "several" C-54's of the Cuban Aerovias airline took off from Mahecho Boyeros International Airport in Habana, loaded with armed militiamen carrying packs, heading westward. According to reports, the planes carried approximately one hundred and fifty militiamen. However, only two



-15-

planes returned to the airport where they discharged fewer men than had gone aboard.

Reports from Brazil indicate that Brazilian Communist plans call for closer relations with pro-Cuba committees through Cuban Embassy officials. In 1960 a Brazilian member of the 'Revolutionary Committee of Latin America' noted that although Brazilian conditions differ from those in Cuba, the civic aspirations of both countries are absolutely identical. Another pro-CASTRO spokesman pointed out that each Cuban union had an arsenal of arms and added that such a practice was a worthy example for Brazil.

Fidel CASTRO told Mexican Communist women visiting in Cuba in late 1960 that Mexicans must form a powerful group to overthrow the present government. He stated that women would be forced to save the Mexican Republic if the men refused to fight.

Violence perpetrated by pro-CASTRO elements in Uruguay during January 1961, including an attempt to destroy Benito BARROSO's radio station, resulted in the expulsion of the Cuban Ambassador.

During the Congress of National Insurgency held by the Chief Argentine opposition party, the Union Civica Radical del Pueblo, Dr. Santiago H. del CASTILLO set forth the international policy position of the group. He asked that Cuba be considered an example and that its revolutionary process be copied by all America. Del CASTILLO, who visited Cuba in mid-1961 at Fidel CASTRO's special invitation, said that nothing can check the rebellion of the masses. He advocated a national revolutionary front.

Varied reaction arose in Bogota on 9 February 1961 following the revelations that a foreign power was training Colombian agitators and that arms had been air-dropped from Cuban planes in the Colombian Uraba zone.

Colombian Government Minister Augusto RAMIREZ, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on 31 January, said the violence in Colombia was due to alien forces because agents-provocateurs were being sent to the countryside to promote terror and confusion. The executive officers of the parliamentary bloc demanded quick action of the government regarding the danger from Communist agents of CASTRO. The statement pointed out that Communist agents are responsible for the new outbreak of violence in Colombia.

According to a student at the Colombia Extension University

-17-

and an active member of the Movimiento Obreros y Estudiantes Colombianos (MOEC - Colombian Workers' and Students' Movement), the MOEC, which has more than 30,000 members in Colombia, also has an effective guerrilla organization and large quantities of arms supplied by the Cuban Government. The student went on to say that many of the guerrillas of the MOEC had already completed their training and planned to leave for Cuba in late 1961 to support Fidel CASTRO; they are waiting for money from Cuba or from the Soviet Union, which is being sent by way of Mexico.

A top military official in Ecuador remarked to friends in mid-1961 that it had been definitely proven that 3,000 revolvers had been imported by Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo, pre-CASTRO former Minister of Government. The import was made, he said, in such a way that it seemed as if the arms were destined for the Ecuadorian Government. However, it is known that the revolvers are now in the hands of ARAUJO and his followers and are destined to be used to make trouble.

One night during the week of 9 April 1961, twelve Venezuelan and eight Cuban saboteurs were landed by small boats from a ship flying a foreign flag on the Venezuelan coast near Puerto Cabello, Venezuela. The saboteurs came from Cuba and infiltrated Venezuelan oil camps. These saboteurs were to begin carrying out acts of sabotage throughout Venezuela under orders of a revolutionary committee in Maracaibo.

A Cuban plotter, Eugenio CIERRELOS, was reportedly commissioned to purchase arms in Colombia for a rebellion in Venezuela. The plot was uncovered on 20 June 1961 and CIERRELOS was assassinated.

In Panama the local Communists and Fidelistas are extending their campaign of subjection, threats and terror to the interior. This campaign, which has already had ramifications in the province of Chiriqui, was also carried out in the city of Chitre, where Alfonso CASTILLO Ortiz, president of the local newsmen's union, received a death threat. CASTILLO Ortiz was directing a radio station's program from which he carried out a strong anti-Communist and anti-Fidelista campaign. He received an anonymous note which stated that he would pay dearly for betraying Cuba and all of America.

While in Cuba in June 1961 Honduran Deputy Jose Idelfonso ORTELLANA Bueso told newspapermen that Honduras is anxious to find a man like Fidel CASTRO who would lead it by those same victorious revolutionary paths. He also mentioned that he admired the greatness of the revolutionary government and that when he returned to Honduras he would inform the people of the truth about Cuba.



-14-

The subject of coordinated Communist revolutions was discussed at a meeting of Central American Communist leaders in Costa Rica in July 1961. The Honduran delegation was opposed to a revolt in Honduras at that time, because the people were not "politically prepared," and because the party lacked sufficient weapons - while Cuba would supply money, arms would have to be purchased in Mexico or the United States.

Panama's Minister of Government, Marcos ROBLES, announced on 22 July 1961 that the bomb that exploded on 11 July killing Policero PINZON was part of an arsenal being prepared to create disturbances on 26 July. PINZON was a student leader of the VAM. The National Department of Investigations exhibited to newsmen the vast arsenal and equipment for the fabrication of homemade bombs that was found hidden in the residence of PINZON's family. Manuals for making these devices were also found.

Many members of the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU) believe that the Cuban revolution, as well as the Chinese revolution, demonstrates that a Marxist revolution can be carried out without the leadership of the proletariat. The official line of the PCU, however, is that, although the Cuban revolution began in the rural areas, it was consolidated, defined, and saved by the support of the workers and the Communist Party. While addressing a meeting of PCU members on 1 July 1961, Enrique RODRIGUEZ complained that many Communists were depending on the appearance of a Uruguayan Fidel CASTRO rather than working hard on building a stronger Party.

On 17 July 1961 Pedro Antonio RAAB Niyain, Secretary-General of the PCE, said at a PCE assembly that in case of a popular revolution by the masses in Ecuador, Cuba would render complete and unconditional aid to the masses.

According to Jorge VALDEZ Salas, president of the Control Commission of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), Enrique ARROYO Posada, member of the Political Commission of the PCP, told Party members in mid-May 1961 that the PCE may execute a Cuba-style coup soon.

In Peru in August 1961 the Communists were insisting that their activities in the field of rural labor were to be intensified. They receive instructions from an organization called the Comité Regional Latinoamericano de Trabajadores de Plantaciones in Habana. They intend to continue penetrating the Indian communities for the purpose of using them for guerrilla activities.

-19-

When Jose Asuncion SUAREZ Terrones, Secretary-General of the PCP in the Department of Junin, travelled in the area of Huancayo distributing propaganda and talking with local Party leaders in June 1961, SUAREZ glorified the Movimiento Social Progresista (MSP). He said all the future hopes of Peru rest with these men who are going to bring about a revolution in the same way that Fidel CASTRO did in Cuba.

In Bolivian President PAZ Estenssoro's State of the Union message inaugurating the 1961 regular session of Congress, he noted that the events in Cuba had caused violence in La Paz and Cochabamba. He said that the Communist plot to overthrow the Government of Bolivia and implant a Socialist State was based on experience in Cuba. President PAZ recalled the Government of Bolivia's request for withdrawal of the former Cuban Charge.

On 11 July 1961 three leftist deputies, three leftist labor leaders, and a personal representative of Vice President Juan LECHIN Oquendo met in Viacha. The group agreed that the way to obtain freedom for Bolivia was to follow the example of Cuba. Florentino CAMBRESA warned them that they would have to be very careful in their support of Cuba because of the Bolivian Government's present repressive policy against Communists and leftists.

Dr. Angel R. GIERE, a Paraguayan Communist who has been in contact frequently with members of the Cuban Embassy in Montevideo, is a principal leader in Montevideo of the United Front for the National Liberation of Paraguay (FULNA) and president of the Movimiento Paraguayo Pro-Revolucion Cubana, a Communist front group. He has encouraged members of FULNA to infiltrate other exile groups and to support Fidel CASTRO and the Cuban revolution at every opportunity. GIERE claims that this should be used as the example of a successful revolution of the type which should come about in Paraguay.

As of early June 1961, 53 Communist labor leaders had been trained at the school of Marxist education in Cuba. These labor leaders are prepared to go into action in Paraguay when so ordered by the Party.

During the month of June 1961 Salvador ALLENDY, Chilean Socialist senator, visited Cuba for the purpose of reaching an agreement with Fidel CASTRO on the launching of a socialist revolution in Chile in 1961. ALLENDY was a frequent visitor at the Communist Chinese and Soviet embassies in Habana while he was there.

B. Training in Guerrilla Warfare and Marxist Theory

In addition to the outright hostilities noted above, the CASTRO government is organizing, supporting, and encouraging a number of foreign revolutionary leaders and movements. These activities are in line with the regime's exportation of the revolutionary handbook by Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA, La Guerra de Guerrillas. This handbook draws a parallel between the Chinese Communist and the Cuban revolutions and shows its readers how to create revolutionary centers and wage rural guerrilla warfare. It is directed against all the states of Latin America and is closely connected with the CASTRO support of revolutionary plans in several countries.

GUEVARA's warfare manual has been widely distributed throughout Latin America. The books were often dispatched via Cuban diplomatic pouches, and individuals returning from training and congresses in Cuba acted as couriers. Others also carried them when traveling abroad. Cuban Embassys have played the leading role in their distribution. The outlets have been through youth groups, trade unions, student groups, Communist parties of the various countries, and Communist-dominated organizations.

After the Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC) which was held in Habana in July 1960, there was increased emphasis on the training of foreign revolutionary cadres within Cuba. Members of some of the groups already in Habana were placed in special training courses before returning to their home countries. One of the projects activated after the congress was a vast battalion composed of Latin Americans, Europeans and Asians organized ostensibly for the construction of schools and in the Sierra Maestra, but in reality receiving military instruction at the revolutionary army base at Cayey de las Mercedes. Some of the delegates were scheduled for indefinite periods of training. Rumanians, Venezuelans, Hungarians, and other national groups were absorbed into the guerrilla training camps with the clear objective of enhancing their effectiveness as revolutionists within their own countries. Regular recruiting procedures by the Cuban Embassys and their fronts within the Latin American countries has assured a steady flow of potential trainees into the indoctrination centers. The principal targets are students and labor leaders in a position to effectively advance the cause of Cuba within their own countries.

In late September 1960 a training course was established in Habana for members of the Revolutionary Union of Cuban Students Youth (URJC). Sergio ROMAN Arredondo and Fernando LIZBEO Moreno were

both trained in guerrilla warfare in Cuba. ROMAN was trained in order to return to Ecuador and give training to Hondurenses.

In early 1961 the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia instructed the regional committees to reorganize and start self-defense groups in the rural areas. The training was to be done in accordance with the rules contained in GARCIA's training manual.

The activities of Salvadoran Communists in the first two weeks of January 1961 were climaxed with an hour-long, pro-CASTRO anti-United States demonstration at the San Salvador airport on January 14 when the main group of Salvadoran delegates to the Habana 1 January celebrations returned. The group was reported to have been given funds by the Cuban Government to further their cause in El Salvador. One member of the group was quoted by the press as stating that the students in the delegation spent thirteen days in the Sierra Maestra taking a course in guerrilla warfare.

Another area of Cuban activity was brought to light by the accusations of Peruvian Minister GILLES Aparicio in late 1960 that Peruvian Communists, after undergoing training in Cuba, would join other extremist elements in a Cuban-type revolution in the mountains. Cuba was supplying weapons to its followers who were organizing militias in universities and in the mountains. One of the recipient groups was ARMA Rebeldes, led by Luis de la FUENTE, a man who was arrested for sedition several years ago when he entered Peru to commence operations on a similar mission of armed rebellion. Peru was then considered by the Cuban Government to be appropriate as the site of the first Cuban-type revolution in South America.

Members of the Communist Youth Front of the Communist Party of Peru have been training guerrillas based on experiences gained in Cuba. The basis for instructions is a book which was sent to Peru from Cuba.

Correo del Norte, the Honduran Government newspaper, carried a story in early 1961 of a twenty-year-old Honduran youth who was shot while attending a school for revolutionaries in Habana, although his trip had been scheduled simply to attend the recent Youth Congress. The paper reported that the mother claimed that he had been 'recruited' without his parents' permission and that he had been killed because he had insisted upon returning to Honduras.

Communist Parties in Latin America have received word that a school for the training of Communist youth in Latin America was

opened in Habana the beginning of 1961. The purpose of the school is to increase a direct Communist penetration in Latin America and to supply a larger number of trained militants to assist their respective parties. All Communist Parties in Latin America were instructed to send the largest number of students possible. Approximately 50 per cent of those attending the school have been Cubans, and the remainder have come from other Latin American countries. There are professors at the school who are Soviet nationals who speak Spanish. The courses last for three months. The first month is dedicated to study of Communist theory while the remaining two months are devoted to practical courses on agitation and sabotage, including the preparation of homemade weapons such as Molotov cock-tails, self-defense, sabotage, escape and evasion, organization of public demonstrations and penetration, and teaching of the masses.

Another training facility being directed by the Communists in Habana is located in a hotel in Habana. This hotel was converted into an international art school and is to serve as a Communist indoctrination center for the purpose of directing art by Communist doctrine. It also is to provide an additional scene for training Latin Americans and intensifying propaganda throughout the continent. It is said that the technical director of the school will be an international Communist and that Soviet, Czech, and Chinese draftsmen are taking part in establishing the school.

A military training and indoctrination center was constructed at Pico de Agua, in the vicinity of Bayamo, Oriente Province, Cuba. In mid 1961 there were approximately one thousand foreign nationals undergoing training at the center, with one hundred Argentines making up the largest national group at the center.

About mid-April 1961, a Guatemalan revolutionary leader said that a group of 15 young Guatemalan Communists and revolutionaries were in Cuba receiving training in guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and the handling of arms. At the same time a Cuban Army expert in guerrilla warfare by the name of "Pablo" had arrived in Guatemala to train Guatemalan revolutionaries.

When Antonio MONTAÑA, former Second Secretary in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico broke with CASTRO in May of 1961, he stated that national elements of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic were being trained in Cuba at that time for an early attack on their government. These elements, he said, were disguised as international labor brigades.

A manual of revolutionary warfare, dedicated by Mao Tse-Tung to the "brave guerrillas of the Brazilian northeast," was put into



circulation in the State of Pernambuco, together with a leaflet entitled "With The Poor of the Earth" in mid-June 1961. The leader of the peasant leagues, Deputy Francisco JULIAO de Paula, when asked what his role would be, said, "I am an agitator." In the meantime, the revolution process was gaining speed with the return to Brazil of the 100 members of the leagues whom JULIAO took with him to Cuba for the 1 May celebrations and who stayed behind to take courses in agrarian training. These were the men who, it seems, were responsible for the recent occupation or seizure of land in Pernambuco. In March of 1961 it was stated that the rural leagues in the State of Pernambuco were receiving financial support from Cuba. Italo CARELLA, believed to be a Cuban agent traveling on an Argentinian passport, was in the Recife area and was in close touch with Francisco JULIAO. CARELLA returned to Recife from Buenos Aires at that time with a considerable sum of money for the leagues.

When JULIAO attended a pro-CASTRO meeting of the rural leagues in Cavaleiro, the success of the CASTRO revolution was discussed and it was stressed that the success of this revolution was because of the guerrilla tactics used.

JULIAO said on 25 June 1961 that he is not a Communist but would be "honored" to become one if the Party was legal in Brazil. The peasant leader, a 46 year-old attorney who affects an appearance of great poverty, has expressed great admiration for Cuba's Premier Fidel CASTRO. JULIAO said he has visited Russia and Communist China and plans to send his daughters to school in Russia.

Members of the Communist Party of Colombia were part of a self-defense group training in a mountainous region near Viota, Colombia, in the early summer. The group was being trained in guerrilla warfare tactics by what was referred to as an "unidentified person of other than Colombian nationality." This group had been given the mission of keeping in a constant state of preparedness should the Communist Party of Colombia order the members to go to Cuba to support Fidel CASTRO.

A Colombian, referring to Communist activities in Colombia, said that a Cuban Major DAUD was training guerrillas in Casanare in early summer of 1961.

An Adolfo GARCIA Barberena, also known as GARCILLON, was captured by the Costa Rican authorities in May as he crossed the San Carlos River. GARCIA was carrying a map of Nicaragua and two sketches of unidentified areas when he was apprehended. GARCIA is one of the founders of the Frente Unitario Nicaraguense (FUN - Nicaraguan United Front), a Cuban-supported movement to oust the SOMOZA's. He

has spent about three months in Cuba being trained in guerrilla warfare and also spent about a month in Moscow. The last half of 1959 and part of 1960 GARCIA traveled in the banana zone with other FUE leaders, recruiting participants for a revolutionary movement, encouraging work stoppages and strikes among the banana workers. When GARCIA was assigned as a leader of the revolutionary movement by the high leadership of the FUE in Habana, the FUE leaders told him he should communicate with Juan Jose FINEA Serna, Cuban Ambassador to Costa Rica, who would supply him everything. It was thus that GARCIA began training groups of men in Costa Rica for this revolutionary thrust.

At a cell meeting of the Communist Party of Guatemala, it was stated that the Party would receive 2,000 copies of Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA's booklet on guerrilla warfare. It was stated that copies of the book were to be used for individual study by members of the Party.

In Argentina, La Prensa commented on the discovery of the "partisan school" in Corrientes, asserting that "this proves that CASTRO pamphlets do not limit themselves to the theory of subversive action .... they are followed by immediate action."

In July 1961 Ambassador DOMILA, a leader in the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB), was responsible for developing guerrilla activities, particularly those directed against Paraguay, in Rio Grande do Sul. Teams were being trained in Cuba by the Chinese Communists to be sent throughout Latin America to guide guerrilla activities. Arrangements were being made in July for DOMILA to travel to Cuba to discuss the training program and to plan for the shipment of arms. Possibilities which are under consideration as the best way to obtain the necessary funds to purchase arms are the use of profits earned by Communist merchants dealing with the Sino-Soviet/Satellite Block and sales to the Bloc through Cuba.

Fidel CASTRO held a meeting on 10 July 1961 to discuss fomenting an internal revolution or invasion of the Dominican Republic. As of August there were 3,500 guerrillas of various nationalities who were receiving training in Cuba.

In Colombia in July 1961 plans were underway for a group of Communist Party members to be sent to Cuba to take a course in sabotage and Marxist theory. The most intelligent and capable young people from the settlements of the Nequez region were to be selected to make the trip and the expense of this training was to be borne by the principal Sino-Soviet block countries represented in Cuba. This training was to be given in fulfillment of a promise made by Fidel CASTRO to prepare men for the Colombian revolution. CASTRO made the



promise to Juan de la Cruz VARELA when VARELA visited Cuba.

In 1961, an offer was made by the Cuban Government to give 200 Ecuadorean peasants extended periods of revolutionary training in Cuba. The trainees could remain in Cuba for as long as necessary at the expense of the Cuban Government.

Rene MAUGE Mosquera, Secretary-General of the Communist Youth of Ecuador, and Efraim ALVAREZ Paillos, a member of the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE), were scheduled to go to Habana in August 1961 to attend a three-month training course being offered by the Cuban Government.

A group of Guatemalans completed their training in Cuba in July 1961. They were being trained under the sponsorship of the Communist Party of Guatemala (PCT) in order to participate in sabotage or guerrilla tactics upon their return to Guatemala.

Final instructions were given on 15-16 July 1961 to Felix ANTILAN Espinoza, a Communist civil construction worker in Peru, who was preparing to go to Cuba for three months' training together with construction workers from other parts of the country.

Marcial Rolando ORELLANA Cruz, son of a pro-CASTRO Honduran politician, Jose Idelfonso ORELLANA Basso, went to Cuba on 1 March 1961 to begin a course in revolutionary training.

-26-

C. Cuban Diplomatic Activities; Abuses of National Sovereignty and The Norms of International Conduct.

CASTRO's disregard for the norms of international conduct and the association of Cuban diplomats in Latin America with Communists and other subversive persons and groups is shown by the following examples:

Adolfo RODRIGUEZ de la Vega, Cuban Ambassador to Colombia, returned to Habana in early August 1960 to report on his diplomatic activities in Colombia. He had been accused by the Colombian Parliament and by certain newspapers of alleged Communist activities and of political connections with groups of the extreme left.

Jose VEGAS Suarez, Attache of the Cuban Embassy in Brazil, was deported in early August 1960 for having participated in Communist activities. VEGAS attacked a Brazilian official who attempted to inspect his baggage at the airport in Rio de Janeiro. Jose IGLESIAS, also a Cuban Attache, rushed to aid VEGAS and was arrested. VEGAS was previously deported in 1956 and 1957 for engaging in Communist agitation among student groups and labor unions after having entered Brazil clandestinely.

CASTRO's agents and sympathizers have received orders (in early 1960) to split APRA in Peru regardless of financial costs. The Cuban Ambassador in Lima, Ricardo ALONSO Fernandez, encouraged the activities of the pro-Communist dissident wing of APRA.

The CASTRO Ambassador in Bolivia spoke pointedly on purely domestic issues in an address to the left wing of the MNR Party at La Paz on 15 January 1960. As in Peru, it appears the role of the Cuban envoy has been to split the major political parties.

Benjamin CARRION, already noted as a Cuban-backed proponent of violent solutions in Ecuador, returned to Ecuador in February 1960 following a month's stay in Habana. He brought with him large sums of money to be used in the presidential campaign of Antonio PANFA Velasco. The PANFA-CARRION group purchased a radio station with part of the funds.

Victor Alberto MIRABAL Acebal, secretary to the Cuban Ambassador in Guatemala City, was declared persona non grata on 15 February 1960 for interfering in local political matters.

In August 1959 a military plane of the CASTRO Air Force deposited Raul CASTRO and an assortment of armed thugs in Santiago, Chile, during a meeting of Foreign Ministers. No flight plan had

-27-

been requested and the Cuban travellers had no Chilean visas. They were, however, well supplied with small arms, thus technically constituting an invasion force.

The Cuban Government has provided a Dominican Communist, Rafael Bonilla Aybar, with a Cuban official passport.

The Cuban Ambassador in Peru, Luis Ricardo ALONSO, was restrained by the Peruvian authorities from making a revolutionary address to a group of workers in Hacienda Casagrande on 19 October 1959.

Two Cubans, Jose Manuel VALDES and Armando A. VELASQUEZ, appeared in El Salvador on 16 March 1960 to be employees of the Cuban Embassy. They had no visas. The Cuban Ambassador in El Salvador had previously named a Salvadorian citizen to an official position in his Embassy without consulting the Salvadorian Government though such is required by law.

A Cuban military plane which carried a group of Salvadorian visitors from Cuba to El Salvador in the fall of 1959 also brought large quantities of unauthorized Cuban propaganda and phonograph records bearing instructions for organizing social conflict and cadres of revolutionary leaders.

Fidel CASTRO's contempt for international practice is exemplified by his statement that Cuba does not subscribe to the Rio de Janeiro Pact since his government did not sign it. On these terms, every international agreement entered into by Cuba in all its history prior to January 1959 is automatically and unilaterally cancelled.

The Cuban scheme has many devious sides including blackmail of top political figures when it is felt that such attacks can undermine the prestige of the government represented and, thus, promote their own cause. In Colombia, enemies of the government provided the Cuban Embassy in Bogota with information concerning Julio Cesar TURBAY, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which they hoped would be embarrassing to TURBAY if it were made public.

Not only are Cuban diplomatic personnel abroad piling abuse on Latin American governments and officials, but Habana itself has set the pattern by issuing defamatory statements about their Latin American neighbors. In September 1960 a spokesman for the Chilean Foreign Ministry, after consulting with President ALESSANDRI, announced that Chile was protesting to the Cuban Government about insulting

-28-

statements made by the Cuban Foreign Minister about the Chilean Foreign Minister, Enrique ORTIZAR. The spokesman also said that the government of Chile had decided to support the protests made by the Argentine and Brazilian Governments which had complained about insulting remarks directed against their government by the Cuban Foreign Minister.

Sergio ROJAS Santamarina, former Cuban Ambassador to Great Britain, told La Prensa on 8 September 1960 that the situation in Cuba was very grave. He said it did not represent a local phenomenon but a world-wide conspiracy which, unfortunately, was centered in his country. In Buenos Aires after more than two months' asylum in the Argentine Embassy in Habana, ROJAS greeted the Argentine people by warning them of the great lie behind Cuban official propaganda. "When certain groups in Argentina express their sympathy with the Cuban revolution, they may perhaps be unaware that they are unwittingly furthering the objectives of international Communism."

Cuban diplomats and other officials assigned to Cuban Embassies in Latin America continued their intervention in local affairs in the face of growing awareness of their subversive intentions on the part of those Latin American Governments which still maintain relations with Cuba.

In El Salvador, Manuel NAVAS of the firm Manuel Navas y Cia, distributor of Bohemia Libre, was threatened by Ramon AJA Castro, Cuban diplomat assigned as Chief of Archives to the Cuban Embassy in that country, and two unidentified Salvadorans. AJA was formerly an attache of the Cuban Embassy in Lisbon, and is an intelligence agent for the CASTRO Government.

In Ecuador, Mariano RODRIGUEZ Solveira, Cuban Ambassador, was assured of the cooperation of his friend, Dr. Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo, then Ecuadorean Minister of Government and ardent supporter of the CASTRO revolution. At RODRIGUEZ' suggestion, in November 1960, ARAUJO arrested four students of the Quito University who were distributing anti-Communist flysheets. ARAUJO authorized RODRIGUEZ to engage freely in Cuban press and radio propaganda in Ecuador.

Radio Circuito RPC in Panama City reported on 7 December 1960 that Adolfo MARTI Fuentes, Cuban Consul in Colon, had been notified by the Panamanian Foreign Ministry to leave the country within 24 hours because of his activities during the recent strikes in Puerto Armuelles and Bocas del Toro. MARTI was accused of having entered Panama on a diplomatic passport, passing himself off as a Cuban Consul, and distributing Fidelista and Communist propaganda throughout

-29-

Panama. After he was discovered, he took asylum in the Cuban Embassy and subsequently left Panama. Radio Circuito RPC commented that there were many more Cubans in Panama who were misusing their diplomatic status to spread a doctrine and policy alien to the Panamanian way of life.

The Cuban Ambassadors in Uruguay and Panama were expelled in January 1961 for participation in a wide variety of subversive activities.

The Cuban Foreign Ministry started an area-wide diplomatic offensive on 15 May 1961 to convince other Latin American countries of Cuba's peaceful intentions and independence from Communist-bloc control. Carlos OLIVARES, Under Secretary of the Foreign Ministry visited the presidents of Mexico, Brazil, and Ecuador to ask their help in reducing tensions between the United States and Cuba. Joaquin HERNANDEZ and Ramon AJA waged a similar campaign in Costa Rica, Panama, and Venezuela.

OLIVARES is a long-time practicing Marxist who controls Cuban infiltration and subversive activities abroad. HERNANDEZ was at one time a Cuban Communist Party candidate for senator and has engaged in numerous front activities since 1954. AJA is a Cuban who has been involved in intelligence activities in El Salvador and has been described as a key Soviet Contact.

On 19 May 1961, the Cuban Consul in Guayaquil, Ecuador, Adolfo MARTI, became involved in a plan of terrorism including the intention to assassinate President VELASCO. A group of University students in Guayaquil collected signatures for a petition asking VELASCO to declare MARTI persona non grata. "It is not possible" the students said "for Ecuador to continue tolerating intervention and Communist agitation by a Cuban Consular official with a history of terrorist activity in other parts of America."

Three young Chinese Communists, who arrived in Guayaquil on 12 May 1961 were arrested on orders of immigration officials of Ecuador. The three were reported to have been operating a clandestine short-wave radio from their room in Guayaquil's Hotel Continental and to have taken part in illegal political activities in conjunction with known Communists. The three arrived in Ecuador from Cuba on a "cultural mission" and were to continue their trip to other South American countries. Adolfo MARTI visited the Immigration office to demand the release of the three Chinese who had been interned, as well as the release of papers which had been confiscated from their hotel room. MARTI was almost physically ejected from the office with warnings on his behavior if he wished to remain in Ecuador.

-30-

On 27 May MARTI suddenly left by air for Cuba. Ecuadorian Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs is quoted as saying that MARTI was recalled by the Cuban Government as a demonstration of respect for Ecuador and its institutions.

On 28 March 1961, the Government of Panama gave Gilberto CONILL Iglesias, Cuban Charge d'Affaires, twenty-four hours to leave the country. This action was based on CONILL's interference in the strike of Panamanian workers of the Plywood Company. CONILL left Panama by air on 28 March en route to Cuba via Mexico.

The Bolivian Defense Minister stated on 26 June 1961 that the Bolivian Government had requested the withdrawal of the Cuban Charge in La Paz, Mauro GARCIA Triana, after verifying his intervention in the internal affairs of Bolivia and that he was cooperating with the Bolivian Communist Party in preparing a revolutionary coup. The Minister said that the Cuban Embassy in Bolivia had distributed large amounts of money among Bolivian labor and university leaders. GARCIA returned to Cuba in July.

The National Confederation of Mexican Students has accused the Cuban Embassy of promoting student disturbances in Puebla, saying that these are a part of an international Communist plan which is directed from Mexico and financed by the Cuban Embassy. In a petition addressed to President LOPEZ Mateos, the Confederation asked for an investigation of the subversive activities of the Cuban Embassy.

In spite of precautionary measures taken to camouflage subversive activity engaged in by Cuban diplomats stationed in Latin America, reporting continued to uncover evidence of their leadership in pro-Cuban activities.

The former secretary of the Cuban Embassy in Chile, Roberto Halfon, who asked for political asylum in Colombia in late 1960, told the Bogota newspaper La Republica that Cuban embassies in Latin America are centers for Communist infiltration.

Adolfo MARTI, former Cuban Consul in Colon, Panama, who was declared persona non grata by the Panamanian Government, was later named as Cuban Consul in Guayaquil and charged with the mission of engaging in political agitation in Ecuador with regard to Ecuadorian frontier problems with Peru. MARTI left Panama on 10 February 1961 for Ecuador.

Roberto ESTOPINAN Vera, assigned as third secretary of the Cuban Embassy in Quito (and potential Charge'), arrived in Tegucigalpa.



-31-

on 11 February 1961 from Habana. He stated that he was under instructions of the Cuban Foreign Office to agitate an Ecuador-Peruvian border dispute.

In late 1960 or early 1961, before the formal inauguration of the Defenders of the Fatherland and Friends of the Cuban Revolution in the Province of El Oro, Ecuador, several members went to Guayaquil to seek assistance and advice from the Cuban Consul and the Cuban commercial representative.

In March 1961 the Government of El Salvador announced the expulsion of the Cuban Charge d'Affaires, Roberto LASALLE, accusing him of subversive activities and contacts with Communists after documents sent by LASALLE to Cuban Armed Forces Minister Raul CASTRO, brother of Premier Fidel CASTRO, had been intercepted. The Government made public photostatic copies of two documents which it said contained "abundant and valuable evidence" which would break a ring of "espionage and agitation" set up by the Cuban Government with the aid of rebels in El Salvador. It charged that LASALLE held secret meetings with Communists, interviewed Communist agents and sent coded messages to Habana for arms and training material to be sent secretly to El Salvador. The report recounted the substance of conversations which LASALLE had with FRAM leader Roberto CARIAS Delgado.

On 16 March 1961 Honduras officially announced the closing of the Cuban consulate at Puerto Cortes, as well as the withdrawal of approval of the new Cuban Consul DIAZ Alvarez. No explanation was given for the actions, but well-informed circles said that the move was due to discovery of an intense pro-CASTRO campaign which the Consul had been carrying out in the northern coastal area of Honduras, as well as an announcement concerning the arrival of contraband arms coming from the Caribbean region.

Espionage data from most of the South American countries which do not maintain diplomatic relations with the USSR has been filtering into the Soviet Legation in Montevideo and thence to Moscow. The Soviet Legation in Montevideo was for a long time the main distribution center for Communist propaganda material which poured in at the rate of three tons a week.

Zelmar MICHELINI, who traveled to the Soviet Union and Communist China in 1959, is in touch with Vadim N. Kirsanov, Cultural Officer of the Soviet Legation and probable head of HIS activities in Uruguay. MICHELINI was prominent in pro-CASTRO propaganda activities until his party, the Colorado List 15, announced that it would no longer participate in public ceremonies with other parties in support of CASTRO.



-32-

The East German Ministry of Foreign Affairs is reportedly formulating a propaganda program to rally Latin American support for a peace treaty, according to a former East German foreign affairs official. The various Latin American Communist parties are to be utilized for propaganda purposes in their respective countries. The "mission" in Cuba is to be a center of East German propaganda among the Latin American countries. It will prepare special bulletins on the German and Berlin problems for distribution throughout Latin America. The head of the mission, Karl LOESCH, is to hold frequent press conferences and official receptions to propagandize the regime's position. Deputy Foreign Minister Georg Stibi, who is normally responsible for Latin American affairs, spent his "vacation" in Cuba, perhaps in connection with efforts to work out operational details of this program.

Cuban Charge d'Affaires Mauro GARCIA Triana was recalled to Cuba in June 1961 at the specific request of the Bolivian Government. Charges were made that GARCIA Triana had intervened in the internal affairs of Bolivia and that he was cooperating with the Bolivian Communist Party (PCB) in preparing a revolutionary coup. He was also known to participate in the activities of the Bolivian-Czech Friendship Society. Documentation was provided proving the link between the Cuban Embassy and the Communist plot to seize power. Documents taken from conspirators showed that another Cuban employee, Moises ARENAS, had many contacts with Communist elements and organizations connected with Communism. In a transcript of police interrogation of ARENAS on 23 June 1961, individuals were named as having received monthly payments of \$50 and \$100 from the "Soviet Communist Party in Cuba" via the Cuban Embassy in La Paz. The Bolivian Defense Minister said that the Communist plot was intended to make President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress plan fail. He also said that the Cuban Embassy in Bolivia had distributed large amounts of money among Bolivian labor and university leaders.

Ultima Hora ran an editorial on June 12, 1961, entitled, "Diplomatic Intervention Unmasked." The editorial said that it was inconsistent to arrest Bolivians while at the same time permitting the agents of Fidel CASTRO to enjoy diplomatic immunity. The Cuban Embassy constitutes a threat against the sovereignty of the Republic, continued the editorial, and it is the moment when the Government of Bolivia should suspend diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Narciso Martin MORA Diaz, Cultural Attache of the Cuban Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, was recalled to Habana on 3 June 1961. Guanabara State Governor, Carlos LACERDA, had ordered his arrest because of his pro-Cuban propaganda activities. It was believed by many people

-33-

that MORA's recall was a gesture of friendship by the Cuban authorities who wanted to create no problems for President QUADROS. MORA Diaz is a well-known agitator in the student field. He was declared persona non grata in Nicaragua in May 1960. He returned to Rio de Janeiro on 22 June after a brief consultation in Habana. Thousands of magazines and pamphlets setting forth a leftist position have been sent to unions and workers in Brazil by the Cuban Embassy in Rio de Janeiro.

The National Committee of the Conservative Party of Chile on 16 July 1961 unanimously approved a petition to declare the Cuban Ambassador to Chile, Juan Jose Diaz del Real, persona non grata for inexcusable intervention in Chilean affairs and systematic efforts on his part to promote Communist penetration of Chile. Though he was not declared persona non grata, DIAZ was recalled to Habana in July. Since the assumption of power by the CASTRO Government the Cuban Embassy in Santiago has imported innumerable motion pictures, books and pamphlets designed to incite the Chilean people to follow the example of the revolutionary regime in Cuba.

Juan Jose FUXA Saenz, Cuban Ambassador to Costa Rica, left San Jose on 15 July 1961 for Habana. Acting under the instructions of President ECHANDI the Guardia Civil raided the Prensa Latina office in San Jose on the evening of 14 July 1961. Among the documents removed from the office were five letters compromising FUXA and the Cuban Embassy. These letters gave reason for declaring FUXA persona non grata. The Cuban Embassy has supplied the President of the Palmar Branch of the Asociacion de Juntas Progresistas, Communist-tainted civic organization, with money for promoting a strike among the banana workers.

In June 1961 FUXA had started a series of lectures on Cuban history and current events at the headquarters of the PVP. Approximately 50 young students attended each lecture.

Customs officials refused to release a large quantity of propaganda material which arrived in Costa Rica from Cuba in June 1961. The material was addressed to the Cuban Embassy.

In May 1961 the Cuban Embassy in San Jose was making arrangements through Marcial AGUILUZ Orellana to try to buy Diario de Costa Rica, San Jose daily newspaper of Otilio ULATE Blanco. This attempt may have been part of the plan of the Costa Rican Communists to procure another newspaper in the event that Adelante, their publication, is shut down by the government.

Costa Rica broke diplomatic relations with Cuba on September 10, 1961.

-34-

Hector GALLO Portieles, formerly Second Secretary in the Cuban Embassy in Costa Rica, is residing in Honduras in an unofficial capacity and is believed to be working for the Cuban intelligence service.

On 3 June 1961 Cuban Ambassador to Ecuador, Mariano RODRIGUEZ Solveira, departed from Guayaquil by air for Habana. On 2 June the Cuban Embassy gave out a press statement announcing that RODRIGUEZ's departure had been long planned, and that on 5 May the Government of Ecuador had granted agreement to naming of Cuban jurist, Eduardo CORONA Zayas, as new Ambassador to Ecuador. Press statements by the Cuban Embassy seemed designed to forestall rumors that RODRIGUEZ had been recalled suddenly because of recent activities which had displeased many Ecuadorians.

Pedro MARTINEZ Perez, Charge d'Affaires of the Cuban Embassy in Quito, told leaders of the Ecuadorean Communist Party (Partido Comunista de Ecuador--PCE) in Quito that he had been accused of interfering in PCE internal matters and in aggravating the division within the PCE. He said he had been instructed by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs to do everything necessary to avoid interference in the PCE.

In July 1961 the newly appointed Cuban Consul in Guayaquil, Roberto SUAREZ Perez, had already met secretly with Pedro Antonio SAAD Nysim, Secretary-General of the PCE, and Enrique GIL Gilbert, second ranking member of the PCE.

Comando de Libertad, an anti-Communist organization in Panama, issued a declaration on 1 June 1961 demanding that the Government of Panama declare Cuban Foreign Office Under Secretary OLIVARES persona non grata. They charged him with being a spokesman for international Communism on tour of the Latin American countries in an attempt to infuse directives of the Communist system.

While an anti-CASTRO demonstration was in progress on 26 July 1961 in Panama City the Cuban Charge d'Affaires, Rafael FERNANDEZ Sardinias, started shooting from a window of the Cuban Embassy. On 28 July Jorge Carrasco, on his daily program carried by Panama City Circuito RFO, presented two letters denouncing the Cuban Charge's actions, demanding that he be declared persona non grata and expelled. The first letter was written by former Panama City Mayor Guillermo McGeachy, and the second was signed by people whose name Carrasco did not report. He added that "hundreds" of similar letters probably would be sent to the Foreign Ministry.

The committee of Panamanian political leaders met on 28 July to discuss the shooting incident. The group informed Marco ROBLES, Panamanian Minister of Government and Justice, that the actions of

-35-

FERNANDEZ were an insult to the Guardia Nacional and that he should be declared persona non grata. The group said that firm action was needed from the Government of Panama in order to control the situation and to keep the Communists off guard.

Jose VASQUEZ Blanco, Acting Head of the Cuban Consulate General in Caracas, asked for and received political asylum from the Government of Venezuela, on August 22, 1961. VASQUEZ received his provisional exequatur February 18, 1961. He has signed statements condemning "betrayal" by Fidel in the delivering of Cuba to the Sino-Soviet Bloc.

- 36 -

D. Collaboration with Communists and Communist Parties in Latin America.

The Communist Party of Costa Rica, known as the Partido Vanguardia Popular, held a meeting for "Cuban solidarity" at its headquarters on 26 March 1960.

El Siglo, organ of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCH), reported the reception of leading members of the 26th of July Movement at Communist Party headquarters in Santiago on 19 April 1960. The purpose of the meeting was "to exchange ideas about the Cuban situation."

On 25 March 1960, Pompeyo MARQUES, leader of the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV), addressed a public meeting in Caracas, the theme of which was the Castro revolution. During this meeting funds for CASTRO were solicited and blanks were circulated for volunteers to defend the CASTRO regime.

The Communist-front International Union of Students urged the Federation of Honduran University Students to join other student groups in attending a propaganda rally held in Cuba late in March 1960 and to hold meetings and make declarations in support of Cuba.

The support of subversive activities abroad through Communist and pro-Communist groups is a characteristic of the CASTRO regime. In May 1960, the Guatemalan Communist Party had received 75,000 quetzales from Cuba via Mexico and more money was expected from Cuba on a regular basis.

Cooperation between CASTRO's Government and various Communist Parties, as well as an increasing confidence on the part of Communists with respect to their influence in Cuba, was illustrated at a meeting of leaders of the Communist Party of Argentina on 29 May 1960 when it was announced that Cuba was to become the focal point of all Communist activity in Latin America, and Argentina was to become the clearing house for the South American continent.

Approximately 30 high school students attended a series of lectures on Marxist philosophy sponsored by the Union of Communist Youth of Colombia (UJCC) in Barranquilla, Colombia, in June 1960. Those who completed the course were to be eligible to enter an essay contest based on the course, student problems, and the Cuban Revolution. The contest winner was to attend the Latin American Youth Congress in Habana in July as a member of the Colombian delegation.

- 37 -

Resolutions of the directive bodies of some Communist Parties in Latin America in early 1960 indicated that the Communist line with regard to Cuba was centered on the "defense of the Cuban Revolution." This euphemism covered diverse propaganda and organizational activities which were offensive rather than defensive in nature, and which were aimed at a build-up of forces in different Latin American countries which could constitute the nuclei for revolutionary action at home. Dialectically, this line might be stated as follows: The Cuban Revolution must be defended against United States imperialism. Incumbent governments in other Latin American countries are tools of U. S. imperialism. Therefore, defense of the Cuban Revolution in other countries must take the form of revolutionary opposition to local governments. Bearing this in mind, the oft-repeated claim that "Defend Cuba" groups were being organized in Latin America for the purpose of sending volunteers to Cuba in the event of a counterrevolution may be viewed with considerable skepticism, especially in view of the practical problems of transporting an effective force from other Latin American countries, some of which are quite distant from Cuba.

This basic line was set out at a meeting held in Medellin, Colombia, in April 1960, between Colombian Communist Party leaders and those of other Latin American and Eastern European countries. These leaders agreed that the CASTRO regime in Cuba must be maintained at all costs because it is to be the base for the revolutionary movement throughout Latin America. The Cuban revolution was described as an example of how Latin American leftists can win power and of how the United States can be defied with impunity. Those present promised to concentrate their personal efforts and those of their respective Communist Parties on the defense of Cuba. They agreed that the Communist propaganda machinery throughout Latin America should defend the Cuban revolution and publicize imperialist counterrevolutionary efforts. This propaganda campaign was to be designed as to create the necessary conditions for the recruitment of volunteers who would allegedly go to Cuba to defend the regime from internal or external attacks.

In a meeting in April 1960, the Chilean Communist Party (PCC) tactically associated support for Cuba with the objectives of the Communist-sponsored peace movement in Latin America. PCC leaders discussed plans for organizing a peace and disarmament movement with the ulterior objective of weakening the hemispheric defense position of the United States by creating vociferous public opposition to the Inter-American Defense Board, to U. S. defense pacts with Latin American nations, and to U. S. military aid missions.



- 38 -

In order to generate greater public support for the proposed movement, Communist leaders thought it should be related to the Cuban issue, the point of departure to be the pronouncement by the Cuban delegation to the Organization of American States (OAS) that the U. S. should set an example for Latin America by taking the lead in a disarmament program. Cuba was to be held up as the standard-bearer of peace in Latin America, and dictatorships, aided and abetted by the United States, as the chief threat to peace. Consequently, solidarity with Cuba was to be represented as an integral part of the peace movement.

A resolution of the presidium of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) in May 1960 also implied the "defend Cuba" theme. The resolution called for an intensified pro-Cuba campaign by the PCB, and affirmed that the situation in Cuba was more dangerous than most PCB members realized.

The way in which international Communism relates the political situation in other Latin American countries to that of Cuba is illustrated by examples from Costa Rica and Brazil. At a Cuban solidarity meeting on 26 March 1960 at the headquarters of the Costa Rican Communist Party (PVP), Manuel MORA Valverde, secretary-general of the PVP, compared the 1948 revolution in Costa Rica with the Cuban revolution, and accused the U. S. Embassy of intervention in the 1948 uprising. In Brazil, several municipal committees of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) met in July 1960 to discuss the relations between the United States and Cuba. They proposed a plan to mobilize the Brazilian masses and labor unions to prevent the shipment of Brazilian sugar to the United States.

The central executive committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC) instructed all regional committees of the Party to make special efforts to prepare and guide local members of the Colombian delegation to the July 1960 Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC) in Habana. Leaders of the PCC said that all Latin American Communist Parties were instructed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to give top priority attention to the LAYC because this congress was to assume a major role in future development of the Communist movement in Latin America.

Delegates to the LAYC pledged themselves in secret session to exert pressure on their governments to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union if that relationship did not already exist.

- 39 -

In June 1960, a member of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) gave a talk about his recent visit to Cuba before a group of Party members and sympathizers in Sao Paulo. After praising all aspects of the Cuban revolution, he pointed out how many of the tactics employed in this revolution could also be used in Brazil. He said that the military forces in Cuba had been replaced by the workers, all of whom had weapons in their homes and were prepared to use them if necessary. In finishing, he said that the Brazilian people must arm themselves to be prepared to fight when the opportune time arrives.

On 26 July 1960, a pro-CASTRO mob of about 200 persons including many Communists surrounded the Caracas Cathedral where Cuban exiles were praying for deliverance of their homeland from Communist influence.

Latin American Communist Parties have been encouraged to laud the Cubans in their revolution and thus get their support. For example, Luis Carlos PRESTES, secretary-general of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), stated: "The patriots of all Latin America consider Cuba in the vanguard of the emancipation of our nations."

The Cuban Communist Party was reportedly working closely with the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV) in the fall of 1960 to bring about the fall of the government of President Romulo BETANCOURT. The anti-American theme was usually introduced, and this was shown when women carrying pro-Cuban signs in front of the American Embassy in Caracas stated they received their orders from the PCV.

To cite an example of how a Cuban Ambassador used his post to further the cause of the Cuban revolution through the Communist Party, Mariano RODRIGUEZ Solveira, Cuban Ambassador to Ecuador, visited the city of Riobamba, Ecuador in late August 1960 to contact local leaders of the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE) and the Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorean Youth (URJE).

Another example of the close cooperation between the Communist Party of a country and the Cubans was the combined effort of the Cuban and Guatemalan Communist Parties in the issuance of a handbill in Guatemala in August. The handbill stated that the "cause of the Cuban people is the cause of all the people of Latin America."

The Cuban Communist Socialist Party (PSP) invited delegates from Communist Parties of Central America to attend a secret meeting in Mexico in April 1961 to discuss the struggle to support the Cuban revolution. Mario SOBA Navarro and German PAREDES were the delegates from Honduras. Alvaro RAMIREZ Gonzalez, acting

- 39A -

secretary general of the Communist Party of Nicaragua left Nicaragua for Mexico on 13 April. The probable purpose for his trip was to attend this secret meeting.

A member of the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE) said that he had inferred from remarks made by a top official of the Party in Ecuador that a meeting of Communist leaders throughout Latin America had taken place in Habana the first week in June 1961 at which a new general line for Latin American Parties was given.

The Partido del Trabajo y del Progreso (Labor and Progress Party) which obtained the minority vote in recent elections for councilmen in Rosario, Argentina, intended to extend its organization throughout the country with an eye to the next presidential election. Dr. Alejandro SORIEZ had been selected as the presidential candidate. The Party, which supports the Cuban revolution, was supported in the past election by the Communists.

In mid-May 1961, a member of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) said that Party leaders were attempting to force then President Janio QUADROS to adopt a definite position vis-a-vis the conflict between the United States and Cuba. He said that the PCB was prepared to support QUADROS fully if he would openly align himself with the CASTRO Government, but that the Party would demand impeachment of QUADROS and immediate establishment of a "nationalist and democratic government" if QUADROS publicly supported the United States.

The police discovered a Communist propaganda school in operation in the town of Lomas de Zamora, in greater Buenos Aires, in July 1961. Upon entering the building the police found Ramon DIAZ Alejandro, a Cuban student at the School of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires, instructing 15 people, mostly students and members of the Communist Youth Federation, on agrarian reform and housing in Cuba. The police seized a large quantity of Communist propaganda, pamphlets, and other material, including instructions for the recruitment of volunteers. The police arrested building proprietor Simon ZORILLA, a Paraguayan who is chief inspector of La Negra packing house, DIAZ and the students.

-40-

E. Solidarity with and Defense of the Cuban Revolution

A Peruvian "legion of Volunteers for the Defense of Cuba" was formed in April 1960. This legion issued a call to all Peruvians, regardless of political affiliation or social status, to enlist in its ranks. The legion's organizing committee included Federico BELLING, a well-known Peruvian Communist.

In April 1960, Beltran COBA, vice chairman of the Venezuelan Worker-Peasant Committee for Support of the Cuban Revolution, announced in Santiago de Cuba that he would present \$1,000 as a contribution to the collection for arms and planes to defend Cuba's sovereignty.

Among approximately 120 persons who attended a meeting in Bogota, Colombia on 2 April 1960 sponsored by the Communist-dominated National Union of Colombian Students (UNEC), to organize a Colombian Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution, were: Adolfo RODRIGUEZ de la Vega, Cuban Ambassador to Colombia; Gilberto VIEIRA White, political secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC); Joaquin MORENO Diaz, director of Voz de la Democracia, weekly newspaper of the PCC, and Alejandro GOMEZ Roa, Communist and secretary-general of the UNEC.

At a meeting on 30 April of the executive committee of the UNEC, Alejandro GOMEZ Roa, secretary-general of the UNEC, gave a report concerning his activities as secretary-general of the Colombian Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution. The following were some of the most important aspects of the report: a) Adolfo RODRIGUEZ de la Vega, Cuban Ambassador to Colombia, told GOMEZ that he would pay all the expenses of the Colombian Committee for the first three months of operations. This offer was unanimously accepted; b) the Colombian Committee would take charge of organizing the Colombian delegation to the LAYC. The Colombian Committee would begin a campaign throughout Colombia to organize new branches.

A delegation of 60 Guatemalan leftists under the leadership of Marco Antonio VILLAMAR Contreras, secretary of organization of the Partido de Unidad Revolucionaria (PUR - extreme leftist party dominated by Communists), met in May 1960 to organize pro-Cuban committees and to work on behalf of the Cuban Revolution.

In October 1960 the Ecuadorean Communist Party (PCE) decided that the policy of doing everything possible to obtain international support for the CASTRO regime should be continued. In the event of an attack on CASTRO, the PCE would go all out to create fighting fronts throughout America aimed at producing a general insurrection among the people of Latin America.

In Chile, in the fall of 1960, a labor organization was being used as a base for the formation of the Movimiento Nacional por la Solidaridad y Defensa de la Revolucion Cubana (MNSDRC - Movement for Solidarity with and Defense of the Cuban Revolution). The parent labor body, the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile (CUTCH), outlined part of the principal task of

-41-

the movement as the promotion of an active campaign of support for Cuba which would use divisive activities directed against the Chilean Government and the registration of volunteers to defend the Cuban revolution.

In November 1960, in the Province of El Oro, Ecuador, a group of more than fifty-four leftists and Communist sympathizers signed a proclamation forming the Defenders of the Fatherland and Friends of the Cuban Revolution. Included in the proclamation was the task to endorse enthusiastically the Declaration of Havana and to adopt every means for defense of the Cuban revolution.

As of late January 1961 the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB) planned to organize a National Commission for Solidarity with Cuba in the city of Rio de Janeiro to coordinate, in a centralized unit, all activities in support of Cuba. The PCB would control all activities of this commission by forming a Communist fraction within the commission which would be directly under the control of the CC of the PCB.

The Bogota regional committee of the Communist Party of Colombia included among its principal tasks for 1961 "to organize committees for the defense of the Cuban revolution in every zone of Bogota."

In Tegucigalpa, Honduran Communists and other local and foreign pro-Castroites enthusiastically celebrated "Defense of Cuba Week", 21 - 27 November 1960. A number of leading Honduran Communists published a manifesto threatening to demonstrate locally in defense of Cuba with "forceful acts" if signers were not permitted to assist their Cuban comrades in their defense against aggression. The week commenced with a picnic attended by some 175 persons, including Juan MAS and other employees of the Cuban Embassy, and the guest speaker, Roberto BLANCO Moheno, Mexican writer, who told the crowd that the Cuban Revolution must be extended to all of Latin America.

Communist-directed movements were very active in January 1961 in various parts of Brazil to recruit volunteers for service in Cuba. Nearly 120 persons volunteered in the city of Sao Paulo in response to a call by a Committee of Solidarity with Cuba. In Rio, the National Students Union (UNE) opened a register on January 5 of "volunteers for CASTRO" in which Brazilian Fidelistas were to indicate their proficiency as to weapons, to ensure the calling into service of persons best meeting the Revolution's needs. Later the leader of the Peasants Leagues of Pernambuco, Francisco JULIAO, also called for volunteers for Cuba at a gathering of Communists and Communist sympathizers in Recife.

In Chile, El Siglo, the Communist newspaper, announced on January 13, 1961, that a Chilean legion was being organized to fight, if necessary, for Cuba and that seventy volunteers thus far recruited included Clotario BLEST, President of the CUTCH, and Julio Stuardo, President of the Radical Youth.

A meeting was held in the Balmaceda theater in Santiago, Chile on

-42-

22 January in support of the Cuban revolution. It was presided over by the Cuban Ambassador, Juan Jose DIAZ del Real, and organized by the Movement in Solidarity with and in Defense of the Cuban Revolution. Clotario BLEST urged the people at this meeting to take the path pursued by the Cuban revolution with CASTRO's words: "The Andes will be the Sierra Maestra of Latin America."

A meeting of workers and students in Montevideo was organized in support of Cuba on 4 January 1961. Afterwards demonstrators marched through the main street of Montevideo to the government palace, where an American flag was burned amid shouts hostile to the Uruguayan Government.

Groups of Communists, in a coordinated action, held several lightning demonstrations in different parts of Buenos Aires in support of the Cuban regime on 10 January. One of the groups threw seven tar bombs at a bank building.

At a meeting of the Communist Party of Colombia in March 1961, a speaker suggested that at meetings in which friends of Cuba participate, regardless of their political affiliation, committees of solidarity with Cuba should be organized. He said that the tactical instruction of volunteers to fight for the Cuban cause should be accelerated and that all activities in behalf of the Cuban revolution should be reported to the National Committee of Solidarity with Cuba in order to coordinate all activities throughout the country. Members at this meeting were informed that the support of the Cuban revolution would be an important contribution to the Colombian revolution.

Members of the Communist-front groups in Colombia, principally those groups located in Bogota, held a reorganization meeting in March 1961 where they approved a plan to unify all the groups under one directorate. The Colombian Society of Friends of Cuba, Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution, Association of Democratic Lawyers, National Peace Council, the Colombian Soviet Institute for Cultural Exchange and the House of Culture were the front organizations included in the reorganization plan.

Leaders of all pro-CASTRO groups in Uruguay met in Montevideo on 19 April 1961 to coordinate actions in support of CASTRO. The groups collected funds and the names of volunteers who would fight for Cuba.

In May 1961, 1,000 Argentines had enlisted as volunteers to defend the Cuban revolution, according to a spokesman of the Argentine National Committee of Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

A Committee of Solidarity with Cuba was created in the Argentine province of Cordoba in June 1961. Representatives of the Communist and Socialist Parties formed part of the Committee as well as union and social organizations.



-43- through -44-

A resolution of the municipal council of Ribeirao Preto, Brazil, a city of 100,000 inhabitants in the Sao Paulo state, expressed their solidarity with the Cuban revolution in April 1961.

The Organization of Brazilian Democratic Lawyers issued a statement on 27 April 1961 in support of the Cuban people.

In Mexico, fifty Mexican adult and youth organizations were affiliated with the Latin American Youth Organization in Defense of Cuba, as of mid-1961.

The Provisional Committee for National Sovereignty, Economic Independence and Peace, generally referred to as the Provisional Peace Committee, constituted in Mexico City on 21 May 1961, created, among others, the following sub-committees: Committee of Friends of the Cuban Revolution, also known as Committee of Friends of Cuba; League for Agrarian Defense; and the Committee of Technical Aid to Cuba. The Committee of Friends of the Cuban Revolution had 153 members. This Committee, in a message addressed to President DOMINGOS and Premier Fidel CASTRO in July 1961, asserted that "fighting for Cuba means fighting for Mexico."

During early June 1961 the Sao Paulo Commission for Solidarity with Cuba, a front organization of the PCB, encouraged all members to organize groups in their own neighborhoods, schools, and factories and to select any name which appealed to the members, such as "Che GUEVARA Group" or "Fidel CASTRO Committee".

In mid-1961, the Asociacion pro-Defensa de Cuba (APDC - Association for the Defense of Cuba, in El Salvador, was enrolling sympathizers of the Cuban revolution who would be ready at any time to fight for Cuba.

Members of the Panamanian Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution (CPDRC) at aenary meeting on 8 July 1961, agreed that they would obtain the names of the presidents and addresses of all other Cuban defense committees throughout the world so that effective liaison could be arranged.

The Society of Friends of the Cuban Revolution met in July 1961 in San Jose, Costa Rica, and agreed to "Support the revolutionary measures which are applied in Cuba and to condemn imperialist interference in the domestic affairs of the Latin American countries."

The activities announced during the Week of Solidarity with the Cuban People and Revolution by the El Salvador Frente Unido de Accion Revolucionaria (FUAR - United Front for Revolutionary Action) started on 25 July 1961 with a lecture sponsored by the organization. The meeting was held in the University social center under the direction of several students and workers. The Revolutionary United University Front is a group formed by the labor, student, political, and youth organizations of El Salvador which are fighting for radical changes in El Salvador.

-45-

F. Youth and Student

A group of Panamanians belonging to the youth brigades which participated in the movement for the sovereignty of the Canal Zone in November 1959, offered Fidel CASTRO (through the Cuban Embassy in Panama on 16 April 1960) to fight as volunteers if the counter-revolutionaries attacked the stability of the Cuban Government.

A group of Cuban students were in Brazil in May 1960 in connection with a mission to form committees in support of Cuba in the event of an armed invasion of Cuba by a foreign country. These students claimed to have established fifty committees in Brazil. Jose LIBORIO, a Communist, was said to be general coordinator of Brazilian committees in support of the Cuban revolution.

The support of subversive activities abroad, through the indoctrination and training of Communist youth and students who attend meetings and conferences in Cuba, is a characteristic of the CASTRO regime. A "work camp" in Cuba was organized through the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). Young men from Chile, Mexico, Panama, Red China, USSR, Czechoslovakia and other countries signed up for this trip with expenses paid by Cuba.

No sooner was the Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC) (which took place during July and early August 1960 in Habana) completed, than plans were being readied for invitations to selected groups to visit Cuba for the purpose of showing them the progress of the Cuban Revolution. One such group of Colombian students was scheduled to arrive in December 1960. The Cubans took the opportunity during the LAYC to invite some delegates to a guerrilla warfare demonstration. A Panamanian delegate to the LAYC remained in Cuba for two months on a construction program at University City. It is reported that the students participating in this program were also given guerrilla training. Similarly, an Argentine student joined an international brigade while he was attending the LAYC. He was to receive two months' military and political instruction in Cuba. Students who completed these courses were expected to organize similar military training in their own countries.

University groups have also attempted to wield their influence among students in other Latin American countries. One example was noted when the University Federation of Cuba asked the Communist-dominated National Union of Colombian Students (UNEC) to organize demonstrations and meetings in Colombia in protest against the meeting of foreign ministers of the OAS in Costa Rica.

During late 1960, the Casa de las Americas, a Cuban Government-sponsored cultural institution in Habana, was organizing a Latin American solidarity movement to which the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (FEUU) was asked to adhere. The Casa stated that student groups throughout Latin America were being asked to collaborate in forming this "liberty" movement composed of persons interested in fighting for truth, liberty and justice.

In another country the Casa informed the national student federation of its intention to form an Inter-American Youth organization. The Casa expressed its wish to establish close relations with all Latin American students with a view to supporting a continental movement of people in the underdeveloped Latin nations. Before initiating action, a common front to achieve common aims was to be organized. The same sort of proposal was made simultaneously to many labor and student groups in all of Latin America. The Casa said that it was necessary to form a compact and disciplined corps of young men and women, and the Casa was prepared to put individuals and organizations with like views in touch with one another.

The Casa announced in August 1960 that one scholarship would be offered annually to a student of each Latin American country to study in Cuba for nine months. The students awarded the scholarships would receive \$100 a month and round-trip transportation. They would also receive lodging, food, and medical care at the Inter-American home of the Casa during their stay in Cuba. On 19 October 1960, the Cultural Advisor of the Casa appealed to Panamanian leaders of the Union de Estudiantes Universitarios, the Federacion de Estudiantes de Panama and the Union de Estudiantes Secundarios for support of the Casa's plans to establish a continental movement of liberation.

Pro-Cuban youth in other Latin American countries clearly look upon the Cuban revolution as a model to be followed at home. At a meeting called by revolutionary groups at the University of Habana on 29 October 1960 to show solidarity with the Venezuelan students and people, Rolando CUBELA, President of the Federacion Estudiantil Universitario (FEU, Cuban Student Federation), expressed confidence that the Venezuelan revolution would triumph with the example and assistance of the Cuban revolution, which he said was "sweeping irresistibly through America." The Bolivian Fidel CASTRO Youth Committee in November 1960 issued an appeal to Bolivian youth to defend the Cuban revolution, declaring that to defend Cuba today is to defend Bolivia's future, and joining this committee is the way to defend that future in an organized, militant manner.

Members of the Juventud Comunista Peruana (JCP) returning from the Latin American Youth Congress in Habana, started a series of lectures on 15 October in the Instituto Jose Carlos

Mariategui (IJCM), the Communist Party cultural front and headquarters. The lectures, which dealt with the progress of the Cuban revolution, were presented twice weekly. JCP members were engaged in a program to print mimeographed bulletins on the Cuban revolution. The first one was to be a reprint of the Habana Declaration.

The Federation of Communist Youth (FJC) in Cordoba, Argentina, published a statement in La Voz del Interior on 29 July 1960 that it intended in every way possible to contribute to the triumph of the Cuban people, including sending volunteers.

From 28 December 1960 until late January 1961 a Cuban delegation, composed of Sergio GONZALEZ, Jorge FOYO, Luis CARRERA, visited Bolivia. They had a private meeting with Guillermo LORA Escobar, leader of the minority faction of the PGR, and gave him the task of organizing youth groups to create ill will against American aid programs and the U. S. Ambassador. The Cubans travelled to Oruro and Cochabamba. In Oruro they took an active part in the formation of the Soviet-Bolivian Friendship Committee. This delegation arrived in Bolivia from Peru, where they had a similar mission.

The New China News Agency reported on 10 February 1961 that a national committee of Argentine youth organizations had been set up in Buenos Aires by Argentine student and trade union organizations with the aim of "publicizing the resolutions of the First Latin American Youth Congress and ensuring convocation of the second congress." The committee was composed of the youth organizations of the Communist Party of Argentina, of the Socialist Party, and the Progressive Democratic Party, among other organizations.

Forty-one organizations in Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras affiliated themselves in early 1961 with a newly formed Latin American Youth Organization for the Defense of Cuba. The platform of the organization proposed:

1. To unite all important youth organizations and groups in Latin America under the single plan of action;
2. To convoke a Latin American Youth Congress in 1961 or 1962; and
3. To support the resolutions reached at the Latin American Peace Congress held in Mexico from 5 - 8 March 1961 pertinent to support of Cuba and the Cuban revolution.

This Latin American Youth Organization is presumed to be an outgrowth of the Comité Estudiantil Por Defensa de Cuba (CEPDC - Student Committee for the Defense of Cuba) in Mexico, which according

to an earlier report was being aided financially by Jose Antonio PORTUONDO Valdez, Cuban Ambassador to Mexico. It was stated that the CEPDC had maintained direct contact with Edmundo JARDON Arzate, director of Prensa Latina in Mexico.

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth opened on 16 April 1961 in Santiago, Chile. The representatives rose to their feet on announcement of the presence of the Cuban delegation and shouted the slogan, "Cuba yes, Yankees no!" Included in the group on the platform were delegates from Cuba, the Soviet Union, and China, as well as the Cuban Ambassador to Chile and deputies of the Chilean Communist Party.

The inauguration of the Seventh Congress of the International Union of Students (IUS) was held in Habana from 23 - 31 May 1961 under the theme of "Latin America against Yankee Imperialism." On the agenda of the Congress was the creation of an international brigade of labor and another international literacy brigade. The IUS, which contained university students from seventy countries, sponsored an agreement at this Congress to form a force of unity of all students of the world in favor of the Cuban revolution and the liberation of the countries of Latin America. The circular announcing the meeting drew attention to the importance of Habana as the meeting place, particularly in relation to the student movement in Latin America, and stated that the Executive Committee Meeting would be followed by an International Student Camp from 2 - 4 June and an International Student Seminar from 6 - 8 June 1961, both meetings to be in Cuba.

Cuba planned to offer 1,000 scholarships to Latin American students to study in Cuba, a conference of the Cuban Committee of the IUS announced on 30 May. The selection procedures and the subjects to be studied were yet to be decided, the announcement said.

Communist activities among the students in Argentina are generally under the direction of Guillermo ESTEVES Boero, President of the Federation of University Students of Argentina (FUA); and Silvio KOVALSKY, International Relations Secretary of the FUA, an economics student. KOVALSKY is a member of the Communist Party of Argentina and has visited Moscow three times, Prague twice, and Peiping once in the last four years. He planned to accompany ESTEVES Boero to Moscow in August 1961. He spoke at the first Latin American Youth Congress held in Havana in July 1960 and planned to go to Cuba in June of 1961. The Communists estimate that approximately 85 per cent of the student body of 70,000 at Buenos Aires University are pro-Cuban, and 65 per cent are pro-Soviet. Meetings of the National Committee for Solidarity with Cuba are held at the Medical Students Center. It was believed that the reason this place had been chosen as a meeting site was that the police had no jurisdiction over university premises and could enter them only in case of violence and with a court order.



Jaine ORTIZ, Colombian student, left Colombia for Havana in mid-May 1961 to make preparations for a visit of more than 30 Colombian students who were planning to go there in connection with anniversary celebrations of the 26th of July 1961. The Cuban Government had offered to pay the expenses of these students while they were in Cuba.

In Honduras leftist university students issued an appeal to the people of Honduras over a clandestine radio transmitter in April 1961 to act in defense of Fidel CASTRO's regime.

More than 2,000 university students in Guatemala City demonstrated the night of 18 April 1961 in favor of Fidel CASTRO. They burned President Kennedy in effigy.

About 2,500 students chanting "Cuba Si, Yankees No," marched to the Zocalo Square in Mexico City on 19 April 1961. Vicente ORIA Razo, student leader, told the group that Mexico should support the government of Fidel CASTRO and that brigades should be formed to collect funds for CASTRO from all over Mexico. Another student, Lucio HERRERA, asked for volunteers to go to fight in Cuba. HERRERA said that those who could not go should do their share in Mexico.

Six people from Guayaquil and six from Quito, Ecuador, went to Cuba in April 1961 for special sabotage training. Their return to Ecuador coincided with the beginning of the student strikes around 15 May. The Union Revolucionaria de Juventudes Ecuatorianas (URJE - Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorean Youth) is attempting to create agitation in Guayaquil and other parts of Ecuador by fomenting secondary school and university student strikes, to be followed by labor strikes.

About 2,000 students volunteered their services to the Comité Estudiantil pro-Defensa de Cuba (CEPDC - Student Committee for the Defense of Cuba) in Mexico to aid Cuba. Those not selected to go to Cuba were to form support brigades to visit labor unions, government offices, businesses, banks, and intellectuals to get adherents for the movement and to initiate a general strike to urge President LOPEZ to define Mexico's position with regard to Cuba. Among the leaflets being distributed by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM - National Autonomous University of Mexico) was one addressed to the working class and to all exploited masses of the country. It demanded from all political parties, PGR, PCM, Frente Obrero (FO - Workers Front), POCM, FPS, and other revolutionary organizations, immediate unity of action through the organization of a revolutionary strike throughout the country as the only effective aid to the Cuban revolution.

Mexican leaders of the CEPDC are well-known student agitators at the UNAM. All have made trips to Cuba as guests of the Cuban



-70-

Government. CEFDC preparations for the mass demonstration on 21 April 1961 included the printing of thousands of anti-U.S., pro-Cuban flysheets. Volunteers recruited to fight in Cuba marched in the demonstration identified by armbands reading "26 of July Mexican volunteers."

Several thousand university students in Mexico City carried out a torch parade on the university grounds and took over the radio station of the institution. About 1,000 persons, apparently students, attacked the United States Consulate in Puebla, where an American flag was pulled down and burned.

On 28 May a group of students of Puebla set up a "revolutionary government of university students" and proclaimed the "socialist republic of Puebla." The group announced that the famous Loreto and Guadalupe forts would henceforth be "the Sierra Maestra of Mexico." The students published and distributed widely throughout Puebla a manifesto entitled "Yesterday Cuba, Today Puebla," fiercely attacking the Mexican revolution, army and high clergy and announced that the students would seize the university and set up socialism in Puebla as the first step of the "July 26 Movement," which led to the establishment of the CASTRO regime in Cuba. The students seized and held the University of Puebla for 36 days.

The National Revolutionary Vanguard of the National Polytechnic Institute of Mexico stated: "We have decided to call a general mobilization of the students of this capital and of the rest of the country to make clear our support of the Cuban revolution."

Pro-CASTRO students attacked the office of the Mexican Catholic Association in San Luis Potosi the night of 20 May. The doors of the association were burned, and police reported finding several bombs in the doorway of a church and that "Castro si, Yanquis no" was written on the church walls.

Antonio MONTANE, former Second Secretary in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico who broke with CASTRO, said on 12 May 1961 that telephone contacts were made daily between the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City and that Russian officials visited the Cuban Embassy. MONTANE said it was presumed that the Cuban Embassy subsidized the student disturbances in Mexico.

In March 1961 students in Havana suggested to students at the University of Montevideo that they have an exchange of information concerning study programs, technical publications, cultural, and sporting activities for the year 1961, as a means to cement their relations.

-74-

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Federacion Juventud Comunista (FJC - Federation of Communist Youth) in Buenos Aires on 11 June 1961 Jorge Bergstein, Secretary-General of the FJC, observed that the working youth was solidly behind revolutionary Cuba; that students have become the vanguard of the Communist Party both nationally and internationally and can be depended upon to fight against the U. S. domination and in favor of Cuba; and that the FJC has a total of 33,000 members.

An Argentine Sponsoring Committee was organized in May 1961 to make preparations for the World Youth Forum scheduled to be held in Moscow from 26 July to 3 August 1961. The sponsoring committee organized a round-table discussion in Buenos Aires on 29 May on the theme of: "Is there a crisis in youth? What is the actual situation of the new generation?" One of the speakers was Miguel Angel Di Polito of the Federation of Chemical Industry Workers who said that the labor union sub-committee believes that the only solutions are agrarian reform, nationalization of all foreign monopolies, and trade with the Socialist countries - in other words, the roads being followed by Cuba. He also said that the aggressiveness of certain youth groups was a form of protest against the situation and that they looked toward Cuba, where the young generation had been physically and spiritually liberated.

The Federacion Universitario de Argentina (FUA - Argentine Federation of University Students) ended its Fifth National Student Congress in La Plata on 2 June 1961 with a three-hour session marked by several demonstrations in support of Fidel CASTRO and the Cuban revolution. It was attended by a large crowd of non-delegates, who expressed their pro-Cuban sentiments in frequent noisy outbursts. Pro-CASTRO enthusiasm reached its peak with the introduction of Julio TEJA Perez, Cuban delegate, who praised Fidel CASTRO and the Cuban revolution and bitterly attacked the government of the United States. Alfredo VALLADARES, representing the FUA of Buenos Aires, moved that TEJA's speech be printed and given wide distribution.

Student delegates who spoke out with particular bitterness against the U. S. and "imperialist penetration" included Bernardo Kleiner, medical student from the University of La Plata. Carlos Wermuz, a student delegate from the College of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, put a motion before the assembly to declare the congress under the patronage of Cuba and to name Fidel CASTRO as honorary president of the congress. Alberto ZEVALLOS, the newly-elected president of the FUA, made a speech in which he promised that by 26 July Fidel CASTRO would have the names of the 10,000 Argentine student volunteers and also would have the aircraft to be purchased with the proceeds of the Cuban bonds. Miguel Angel MORENO, a delegate from the University Federation of Cuba closed the session by announcing that the audience would

-52-

be able to buy Cuban bonds (donations) for the purchase of an airplane for Cuba and that registration would be open for those who wished to sign up as volunteers to fight for Cuba.

While MORENO and TELJA were in Argentina to attend the student congress they made contact with leaders of the Confederation of National Youth Organizations (CONOJ), the leftist student-youth organization. The organization was to include students and young people from all of Argentina, including those in trade unions, members of the FJC, and Peronist youth. Selected members of CONOJ were to be used for Communist/Cuban-directed street demonstrations.

In July 1961, a small group of leftist youths met in Sao Paulo, Brazil to initiate the campaign to give a tractor to the Peasant Leagues. The principal speaker was State Deputy Francisco JULIAO of Pernambuco, creator of the Peasant Leagues, who attacked the U. S. and praised the Cubans.

A matter placed high on the agenda for discussion at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Juventud Comunista (JC - Communist Youth) held in June 1961 in Santiago, Chile, was the Cuban revolution. Special importance was placed on the three points of solidarity defined by the JC Executive Commission: clarifying and disseminating information on the ideology of the revolution, the campaign for elimination of illiteracy in Cuba, and volunteer brigades for Cuba's defense.

In mid-May 1961 the JC instructed its members to work toward the formation of volunteer brigades in connection with the JC's solidarity-with-Cuba effort. The JC said that brigades should be formed in the mining centers, the construction workers' unions, and other organizations where there are many Party members and leaders currently devoting their time primarily to labor matters. The JC added that those who joined the brigades must have responsibilities and activities in Chile which would make their participation more significant. The importance of JC work in university student organizations was also emphasized.

The University Association of Friends of the Cuban Revolution (AUARC) was established in early July 1961 with the participation of students from all schools of the University of Costa Rica. A manifesto issued by the new organization stated that the aim of AUARC was to better acquaint university students with the Cuban revolution and to obtain social improvements for them.

Student groups that participated in pro-Cuban activities in Mexico in June 1961 included the Socialist Student Party, Patrice Lumumba Group, Revolutionary Student Bloc, University Circle of

-53-

Socialist Studies of the National School of Political Sciences, Student Front for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution (probably identical with the Student Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution), National School of Plastic Arts, Society of Students of the National School of Chemistry, National Federation of Technical Students, Society of Students of the National Teachers College, Society of Students of the National School of Economy, and Athenaeum of the National School of Architecture.

In Uruguay the Communist Youth organization held its National Convention on 6 - 8 July 1961. The mobilization of Uruguayan Youth in the Solidarity with Cuba movement was cited as an example of the role the UJC could play in creating a leftist front.

-54-

g. LABOR

During March 1960, the Cuban Labor Confederation (CTC), sponsored a "Week of Solidarity with the Struggles of the Latin American Peoples" in Habana. The meeting called for a revolution in Latin America. Several important Latin American labor leaders, among them Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano of Mexico, laid plans for a new international labor body.

Preparatory to this, the CTC sent questionnaires to various labor organizations in Latin America concerning their internal organization. At the same time many propaganda items were distributed to labor organizations depicting the Cuban revolution in glowing terms and calling for increased workers' solidarity to achieve "liberty."

In July 1960, important CASTRO labor leaders traveled to Mexico to ask the Partido Popular (PP--legally-registered Marxist Party) and the Union General de Obreros de Campesinos Mexicanos (UGOCM--PP-controlled labor organization affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), to assert pressure through their organizations in support of the Cuban Government. In the same month, the CTC sent messages to labor unions in Brazil, Panama and other Latin American countries calling for solidarity of the working class in support of the Cuban Revolution.

On 25 August 1960, public demonstrations in Santiago, Chile, were organized by the Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution and drew about three thousand participants. Chilean labor leader, Cletario BLEST Riffe, who spoke at these demonstrations, said that Chilean workers supported the present Cuban Government. He also spoke of "... our own revolution which will not be long in arriving..." BLEST frequently called the attention of member organizations of the Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile (CUTCh) to an agreement with the Cuban Government and the CTC, according to which the Chilean workers would mobilize and go to the defense of the revolution in the event that Cuba were to be attacked by the United States or even by plain "counter-revolutionists." That the pattern to be followed by labor in defense of the revolution was intended to be an offensive and not a defensive one was illustrated by a demonstration of Marxist parties against the Chilean Government on 3 November 1960. Typical posters and slogans were: "Chile and Cuba are following the same path; "Away with Yankee imperialism in Chile and America"; Long live Fidel CASTRO and the Cuban revolution"; "Now a national strike, next a revolution."

Isaac ZUMBADO and Joaquin MORA Elyondo, Costa Rican labor leaders, were sent to Cuba about September 1960 to observe agrarian reform there. Jesus ARCE Castro, a leader of the Federacion de Trabajadores del Banano

-55-

(FETRABA, non-Communist group that merged with the Communist-dominated group early in 1960 to form the FUTRA), a self-declared Communist, also went to Cuba to attend a course. In July 1960, ARCE was arrested near Golfito, Costa Rica, for carrying Communist propaganda and a large quantity of marijuana.

In November 1960, Jose TABARES del Real, then Cuban Ambassador to Bolivia, received instructions to form plans for a general strike in the event of U.S. attack on Cuba. He was to appoint a special coordinating committee to talk to individual members of different labor unions, urging them to give their support to a general strike. Similar plans were issued for the rest of Latin America, especially, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Peru, and Ecuador. In pursuance of this plan, Pacifico ROCHA Pineda, secretary-general of the Bolivian construction workers' union, said that if the United States attacked Cuba, workers of his union would destroy all U.S. enterprises in Bolivia.

Full support for Cuba was one of the programs agreed upon at a meeting of labor leaders held in Montevideo in December 1960. The meeting, officially called the Latin American Construction Workers' Congress, had as its ostensible theme the struggle for self-determination on an international basis and for disarmament leading to world peace, but the true themes were syndical unity in South America, support for Cuba, and "anti-imperialism". Expenses of delegates to this Congress were to have been covered in part by each national labor central and in part by the WFTU through the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Costa Rica (CTCR).

In Montevideo, Uruguayan police confirmed the presence in that city of numerous leaders of international communism who came to participate in two construction workers' congresses. Among the labor union leaders questioned by the police were two Cubans -- Rodolfo FERNANDEZ Rodriguez and Atecherannon LUGONES.

Prensa Latina, Habana, on 4 January 1961, quoted Tancredo HERRAN, secretary general of the Colombian national committee for unity and solidarity of unions as saying that the independent union movement of Colombia would take whatever steps it considered necessary to support Cuba in the face of U.S. aggression. HERRAN added that the Cuban revolution was a great example for the rest of Latin America.

At a meeting of the Bolivian Mine Workers' Federation (FSTMB) on 9 January 1961 in Oruro, resolutions were passed a) declaring solidarity with the Habana declaration and rejecting the San Jose declaration; b) declaring that the Federation would order a general strike and mobilization in support of the Cuban revolution if the Government of Bolivia were to break relations with Cuba.



-56-

Jose del Carmen Encarnacion SERRACIN Acosta planned the Bocas del Toro strike of November-December 1960 in Panama, and was the vice president of the strikers' organization in the Chiriqui Land Company there. SERRACIN studied labor organization in Cuba, and was an observer for the Panamanian Committee for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution (OPDRC) of Changuinola, Bocas del Toro, at the Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC) in Habana, July - August 1960.

Latin American labor leaders who participated in the January 1961 anniversary celebrations in Havana had as another purpose of their trip the discussion of a hemispheric labor conference. A preparatory conference was held in mid-February 1961 in Santiago, Chile, with Cuban representatives present, and the agenda for the continental meeting to be held in May was agreed upon. One of the main items on the agenda was to be the defense of the Cuban revolution.

Leaders of cell and zone committees of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC) in the Department of Valle met in mid-January 1961. The groups had been instructed to find out how the PCC could work with labor unions to present demands which the employers could not resolve. The PCC planned to adopt this practice to bring about strikes in different unions, which would ultimately lead to solidarity strikes and large scale unemployment in Colombia. They planned to use this as a means to overthrow the government of Colombia and establish a government patterned after the CASTRO government.

The Ecuadorean Confederation of Labor (CTE) resolved on 30 January 1961 to support the Habana Declaration and declared its readiness to defend the freedom of the Cuban people.

During the Eighth Anniversary celebration of the CUTCh, held in Santiago, Chile, from 12-20 February 1961, a round-table discussion was held concerning the unity of Latin American workers. At the round table, the Cuban delegates of the CTC practically monopolized the meeting. The fundamental problem raised was the necessity to organize immediately a Central Sindical Obrera Revolucionaria Latinoamericana (CSORL - Latin American Workers' Revolutionary Trade Union Central). Among the objectives for the CSORL were: to prepare the masses for revolutionary action in order to promote and extend the Cuban revolution to all Latin America; to defend the Cuban revolution; and to create a revolutionary situation with strikes and slowdowns.

A meeting of the coordinating commission for unity and solidarity of the workers of the construction industry of Latin America was held in Santiago, Chile, on 19 and 20 May 1961 to prepare for the meeting of construction organizations scheduled for 23 July 1961 in Habana under the auspices of the Cuban National Construction Union. The coordinating commission sent

-57-

letters to the construction organizations in Bolivia, Peru, Honduras, Argentinian, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil and Uruguay to inform them of the Cuban invitation and to request them to send the names of their delegates to Cuba so that visas could be issued immediately. It was requested that the names also be sent to Ricardo Mario ACOSTA, Montevideo, and Juan VARGAS Puebla, Chile. The letters explained that the meeting in Habana was in accordance with the decisions reached at the 12 December 1960 construction workers' meeting held in Montevideo. The purpose of the Habana meeting was to promote unity of action for the formation of a Central Sindical Industrial de la Construccion Latinoamerica (Latin American Construction Industry Unions Central).

A Communist labor leader from Chile and one from Uruguay attended the second Brazilian Labor Meeting held in Belo Horizonte in May 1961, with the aim of proposing there that the Latin American Labor Congress be held in Brazil because there were many guarantees to labor freedom there. The Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) leaders persuaded the two foreign representatives to delay discussion of the matter until the Habana meeting. The PCB was planning to organize a delegation of 40 Brazilian labor leaders to attend the Habana meeting and would include its own leaders among them.

Felix ANTIALON Espinoza, Communist construction workers' leader in Huancayo, Peru, stated that he had been told that he had been chosen to be one of six Communist labor leaders to attend the construction workers' meeting in Habana in July 1961. This group was to remain in Cuba for three months training in trade unionism and in the struggle against Yankee imperialism. They were also to travel throughout Cuba in order to see with their own eyes the reality of the Cuban revolution. This was to enable them to propagandize the revolution after returning to Peru.

As of early July, leaders of several Latin American Communist Parties were planning to promote a meeting of Latin American labor leaders in Habana to coincide with the 26th of July celebrations. At the same time, top Latin American Communist leaders planned to meet in Habana separately. The main objective of the meetings was to be the organization and scheduling of a Latin American Labor Congress for the purpose of creating a continental labor organization to replace the Latin American Workers' Confederation (CTAL), and compete with the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (ORIT).

At the plenary session of the second Latin American Construction Workers' meeting in Habana in July 1961, a motion was presented "to unite Latin American workers in a great revolutionary labor union federation to face up to Yankee imperialism determinedly." This announcement was made by Atoche RONDON, external relations secretary of the Cuban National Construction

-58-

Workers' Union, in a comprehensive report on the content and purpose of the proposals submitted by the 14 Latin American countries that were taking part in the meeting. He also announced that the resolutions committee was considering a motion exhorting all Latin American workers to demand that their respective organizations end their membership in the ORIT and the AFL-CIO "Because they are agents of U.S. imperialism."

-59-

## H. Agrarian Activities.

A highlight of Cuban subversion in early 1961 was the stepped-up tempo of Cuban organizational activities in the agrarian field in Latin America, particularly in the less-industrialized countries. The significance of this, in terms of Cuban plans for exporting the revolution abroad, may be seen from the following quotations from "Che" GUEVARA's guerrilla warfare manual: "The guerrilla will carry out his actions in rural and thinly populated areas, and in these areas the struggle of the people for their demands consists preferably, and even almost exclusively, of action to change the system of land tenure. This means that the guerrilla is primarily an agrarian revolutionary ...Under present conditions in the Americas, and in most under-developed countries, the areas which offer ideal conditions for the (guerrilla) struggle are the rural areas...The battle flag of the struggle will in this entire period be agrarian reform..."

During the Fall of 1960 "Che" GUEVARA made statements in Peiping to the effect that visitors to Cuba from Latin America are being told that they can achieve results like those of the Cuban revolution only by armed struggle of the people and not by democratic processes. According to GUEVARA's theories, based on the Yenan and Cuban revolutionary experiences, this struggle would be primarily agrarian.

Francisco JULIAO, Brazilian Deputy from the State of Pernambuco and president of the Peasants League, has likened Brazil to China, thinking in terms of geographical and socio-economic conditions favorable to an agrarian revolt. In January 1961, JULIAO announced that enlistments were being accepted by the Council of Rural Leagues in Northeastern Brazil to form a militia to fight for Cuba if that country were invaded. This announcement was made at a meeting during which a lecture was also given by Communist leader Luis Carlos FREITAS to a crowd of workers, intellectuals, peasants and students in Recife.

In Ecuador, Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo, former Minister of Government, collaborated closely with the Cuban Embassy in Quito in developing plans for aggressive agrarian action. At the instigation of ARAUJO, a draft agrarian-reform law was being prepared by Dr. Humberto GARCIA Ortiz, director of the Institute of Law at the University of Quito in consultation with Mariano RODRIGUEZ Solveira, Cuban Ambassador in Quito. The draft law was being drawn up along the lines of the agrarian program now being carried out in Cuba by the Castro Government.

-60-

Federation, and the Cuban National Federation of Sugar Workers. The statement calls upon "all the agricultural and peasant organizations of Latin America, in the course of these months, to proceed in carrying out work conducive to strengthening of all the organizations of the Antilles, Central and South America."

The first national Peasant Congress was inaugurated in Santiago on 28 May 1961 in Santiago, Chile, with a large attendance of workers, popular leaders and delegates. On the speakers' stand were national leaders of the four farm labor organizations and small farmers sponsoring the Congress, as well as Senators Salvador ALLENDE and Salomon GONZALEZ, Deputy Bernardo ARAYA, and President Clotario BLEST of the CUTCH. The ceremonies began with a showing of the Cuban films "Fatherland or Death" and "This is My Land."

The principal outcome of the Congress was the creation of a Federation of Agricultural Workers and Indians which had been decided upon in advance by leaders of the PCCh and of the Partido Socialista (PS). The person selected as President of the federation was Jose CAMPUSANO, a relatively new PCCh leader, who underwent two years of intensive Party ideological training which included a trip to Moscow in 1959 and to Cuba in 1960.

In accordance with the decision made by the Brazilian delegation which attended the Plantation Workers Conference in Habana during early March 1961, the Communist Party of Brazil planned to support fully the First National Farm Workers Congress scheduled to be held in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, in October 1961. The Party plans called for intensive propaganda work in the interior regions of Brazil aimed at promoting support for the Cuban revolution as well as the Congress. The President of the Brazilian Farm Workers Union stated that both the USSR and China had asked the Communist Party of Brazil to obtain visa permits enabling them to send delegates to this Congress.

In late May 1961, Francisco JULIAO de Paula, leader of the peasant leagues in Brazil, was planning to intensify his rural organization work, largely as a result of conversations he had had with Premier Fidel CASTRO during his visit to Cuba for the 1961 May Day ceremonies. While JULIAO was in Cuba, CASTRO promised arms and a personal introduction to Mao Tse-Tung, when JULIAO made his next trip to China, probably in late 1961. JULIAO's plans were the direct results of suggestions by CASTRO, one of which was a campaign to sell bonds throughout Brazil, the proceeds of which would supposedly be used for peasant relief, but which would actually be used for the purchase of arms.

-61-

The Bolivian delegation which attended the celebration of the second anniversary of the Cuban revolution in Habana stated that 30,000 worker and peasant militiamen of Bolivia would defend the Cuban revolution with arms. The proposed formation of a Nationalist Agrarian Party (Partido Agrario Nacionalista - PAN) in Bolivia was probably an important factor in this so-called "defense" and occasioned strong criticism of the Cuban Embassy by La Nacion, the official Bolivian Government paper. In an editorial on 16 December 1960, La Nacion accused the Cuban Embassy of organizing this anti-MRR party at a meeting attended by "Trotskyites, Stalinists, anarchists, and students and teachers of the evil Atahualpa School." The editorial charged the Cuban diplomatic representatives in La Paz with being agents and stated there was irrefutable evidence that the conference at which the establishment of the new party was planned was brought about by Cuban Embassy activists; that Mauro GARCIA Triana, Cuban Charge d'Affaires, played the leading role. The editorial mentioned that the actions of former Cuban Ambassador Jose Tabares were repudiated by local public opinion, adding that Bolivia already had enough active agitators and should not have to tolerate also foreign agitators. It called the role taken by the Cuban diplomats inadmissible, especially their pretensions as teachers of the revolution.

In El Salvador, the newspaper Tribuna Libre of 5 January 1961 headlined a press dispatch from Montevideo stating that Cuban technicians will be brought in to work with experts in El Salvador in the field of agrarian reform.

A call to "All Agricultural Workers, Farming and Peasant Organizations of Latin America" to a "Conference of Agricultural and Peasant Workers" to be held in Havana 1-5 March 1961 was issued by the Preparatory Commission of the Conference in August. The Conference was to study the conditions of agricultural workers, formulate agrarian policies and give rise to a powerful labor union movement. The Confederacion de Trabajadores de Ecuador (CTE) subsequently received the thanks of the Cuban Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores de Azucar (FNTA) for its support of Habana as the Headquarters of the Conference in preference to Caracas as requested by the Peasants' Federation of Venezuela. Similarly, the Cuban 26th of July Revolutionary Movement expressed its thanks for the resolutions of the First National Peasants Congress in Ecuador, which was Communist-inspired and dominated.

El Pueblo, the Communist Party newspaper in Quito, published on 16 September a summons to the Conference, signed by representatives of the Peasants' Federation of Brazil, the Federacion Azucarera de Venezuela, the Peasants' Federation of Venezuela, the Cuban Workers'



-62-

### I. Women's Groups

The Cuban Government in 1960 employed Mercedes FUENTEALBA, a Chilean national residing in Santiago, Chile, as a confidential propaganda agent. She was hired upon the recommendation of Carlos OLIVARES, the chief of foreign affairs for the 26th of July Movement in Cuba. FUENTEALBA is a former president of the women's front of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh), and has been a member of the Communist-front Council of the International Federation of Democratic Women.

During his visit to Quito as Cuban delegate to the Seminar on Higher Journalistic Studies, held in Quito 28 March to 5 April 1960, Euclides VASQUEZ Candela, Director of the Instituto Superior de Periodismo "Manuel Sanguilly" in Habana, assisted in the formation of a Women's Committee in support of the women of Cuba in their fight for independence. Maria GOMEZ de la Torre, official of the Communist Party of Ecuador (PCE) and in 1959 secretary of Women's Affairs in the Quito Provincial Committee of the PCE, was named president. Other members were prominent in women's affairs of the Confederacion de Trabajadores del Ecuador (CTE).

In early 1961, the CASTRO government, was attempting to bring about the creation of a Latin American women's organization under Habana-Moscow control. The Communist-dominated Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), headed by Vilma Espin de CASTRO Ruz, wife of Raul CASTRO Ruz, wrote to women's organizations in countries throughout Latin America, proposing the formation of a Federation of Latin American Women (FML), which would strive to become the strongest women's organization in Latin America. The communication indicated that the FMC had the support of the women of Cuba, Chile, Costa Rica, Brazil, Venezuela, and Bolivia, and was expecting to be backed by Communist women's organizations and sympathizers in Mexico, Honduras, Ecuador, Argentina, Colombia, Panama and Uruguay. The communication said that women's organizations should furnish the Cuban diplomatic representation in their respective countries extensive reports on women's organizations in their countries including among these items their political affiliation and ideological tendencies. One of the immediate aims of the FMC in forming the FML was to unite the women in the fight against United States imperialism, and to hold a congress of Latin American women.

On 20 January 1961 the Federacion de Mujeres Cubanas (FMC) honored the women delegates to the January celebration of the Cuban revolution at a luncheon in Habana. Ester noriega, the FMC secretary of foreign relations, announced that a women's congress would be held in Cuba in July 1962. Plans were made for preparatory meetings for the congress to be held in Rio de Janeiro, Venezuela, and Mexico. These countries were selected for the meetings in order to facilitate

-63-

the travel of representatives from different areas of Latin America. NORIEGA said that individual preparatory committees will be named in all Latin American countries, with the Headquarters committee located in Cuba. After the March preparatory meetings Cuban representatives will travel throughout Latin America assisting national preparatory committees in their efforts.

The Fifth Congress of the Union of Argentine Women (UMA) was held in Buenos Aires on 27-28 May 1961. The UMA is a front organization of the Communist Party of Argentina (PCA). The congress was attended by 220 women, of whom 145 were delegates from all parts of Argentina. Fanny Edelman, Secretary-General of the UMA must support certain national and international meetings including the Congress of American Women, which she said she hoped would be held in Cuba during the next twelve months.

During June 1961 members of the Vanguard of Mexican Women (VMM), Communist-front organization, traveled throughout Mexico for the purpose of uniting and organizing women in preparation for the Congress of Latin American Women scheduled to open in Habana, Cuba, on 26 July 1962. VMM members were doing voluntary work for the congress at the headquarters of the Mexican national committee of the EMMCC. The Mexican committee of the Encuentro and the VMM were making arrangements for the holding of a national unity congress to be attended by representatives of all women's organizations in Mexico. One aim of this congress is to prepare organizations in Mexico. One aim of this congress is to prepare to present a strong and united front at the Latin American Women's Congress in Habana.

On 22 July 1961 Alba CALDERON de Gil, Eulalia LOPEZ, and Emma ITURRAIDE, all members of the Union of Women of Guayas Province, Ecuador, a front organization for the feminine section of the PUE, departed from Guayaquil for Habana to attend the preparatory committee meeting for the Congress of Latin American Women scheduled for 26 July. Travel costs for the three delegates were paid by the Cuban government. Representatives of Latin American women's organizations to the preparatory committee were to exchange impressions with leaders of the Cuban women's movement in order to organize the permanent committee of the Congress of Latin American Women which is to be held in Cuba in 1962.

- 64 -

J. Funding

There has been evidence that the Cuban Government is funding subversive activities throughout Latin America. There are also frequent indications of Soviet assistance not only in supplying moral support but material aid.

In March, Dr. Guillermo Leon VALENCIA, Colombian Senator, disclosed the contents of a letter written by a Spanish priest who affirmed he possessed a photostatic copy of a \$22,000 check made out by Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA. It was said that the check was cashed in the National City Bank of Bogota, the money destined for Communist cells and Fidelista movements in Colombia. Dr. VALENCIA also referred to a letter written by Colombian pilots who are fully informed on the arms traffic situation. The pilots possessed information on an alleged Fidelista revolutionary plan to be set afoot in Colombia.

Former Minister of Government of Ecuador Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo visited Cuba in February 1961 on a special invitation of the CASTRO Government, his trip being financed by that Government. ARAUJO received an offer from the Cuban Government of a \$20,000,000 loan to the Government of Ecuador. The money was to come from the Soviet Union through a Cuban bank, ostensibly as a loan from the Cuban Government. After ARAUJO returned to Guayaquil he stated that he brought to President Jose Maria VELASCO Ibarra a written concrete proposal from the Soviets about the future of Ecuador. The USSR, he said, was ready to give anything asked, with no strings attached. ARAUJO said that he planned to tour Ecuador to bring the Cuban message to the most humble people, and VELASCO must take heed.

Alfonso LOPEZ Michelsen, leader of the Revolutionary Liberal Movement in Colombia, has made the statement several times that he was certain that the Colombian Workers' and Students' Movement (MBOC) was being financed by the Cuban Government.

After Juan de la Cruz VARELA, alternate representative in the Colombian House of Representatives from the Department of Cundinamarca and principal leader of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCG), returned to Colombia from Cuba he and six of his men travelled throughout Colombia to raise funds for the shipping of modern arms to the Sumapaz region. The arms were a gift from the Cuban Government.

-65-66-

Marta DIDIER, who works for the Costa Rican National Housing Authority, has been named to act as the funding channel for money coming from Cuba to be used by the Society of Friends of the Cuban Revolution for Castro propaganda and other Cuban movements.

The Secretary General of Directorate of El Salvador, Jose Luis SALCEDO Gallegos held an official press conference on 20 March 1961 on the subject of intercepted Cuban documents which the Government claims prove participation of the Asociacion General de Estudiantes Universitarios Salvadoreños (AGEUS - General Association of Salvadoran University Students), a leftist-dominated, Communist penetrated organization, and the Partido Revolucionario Abril y Mayo (PRAM - April and May Revolutionary Party), pro-Cuban, Communist political front, in plots of Fidel CASTRO. SALCEDO said that the Government's quarrel is not with AGEUS but with the small Communist group which hides behind it to spread pro-Communist and pro-CASTRO propaganda. He urged the students to come and examine the documents in order to satisfy themselves as to authenticity and then hold a court of honor to remove student leaders who have sold out to foreign interests. The documents passed among the reporters included many with signatures of the former Cuban Charge LASSALLE; his appointment book, showing many student and PRAM visitors; and copies of checks drawn against Cuban and Canadian banks for "cultural activities." The reports are said to include requests from AGEUS and PRAM for money and to indicate that subversive activity extended into Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala.

- 67 -

K. Propaganda

The CASTRO regime exhausted its reserves of good will soon after assuming power. Through 1959 and 1960 it became apparent that the established governments of Latin America regarded CASTROISM with increasing suspicion. The CASTRO regime itself felt this loss of trust and prestige but, rather than endeavor to mend its ways, preferred to attack those who would not endorse it. The CASTRO regime, having already arrogated to itself the role of conscience and leader of all Latin America, felt no compunction in denigrating national institutions and in attempting to go directly to malcontents of other countries for support.

In April 1960 Prensa Latina, propaganda bureau of the CASTRO Government, published a report that President Jose Maria LEMUS of El Salvador had been overthrown and forced to flee the country by a military coup. By way of background, El Salvador had objected to the designation of a well-known CASTRO subversive as Ambassador and a tension had developed between the two countries.

When several governments refused to participate in a CASTRO propaganda meeting denoted "Conference of Underindustrialized Nations" which was to be held in Habana in mid-1960, Cuban envoys and propagandists in several instances endeavored to go over the heads of the government and carry their appeal directly to the people. Such tactics involved considerable criticism of the policies of the nations concerned.

For example, the Prensa Latina office in Rio de Janeiro circulated a questionnaire to selected Brazilians, including Communists and molders of public opinion, asking such questions as:

"Is Brazilian policy just with respect to relations among Latin American countries?"

"What is your opinion of the government of President Kubitschek?"

The purpose of the questionnaire was allegedly to provide material for a "report on Brazil," which Prensa Latina intended to publicize throughout Latin America. Actually it was intended to stimulate criticism of the Brazilian Government within Brazil.

The Cuban regime, to support its covert activities, launched a broad campaign designed to elicit sympathy and support from every possible source. Propaganda techniques and devices underwent refinements in response to resistance which developed in some

- 68 -

areas. This resistance has been most clearly seen in the attitude taken by much of the responsible press in Latin America toward the Cuban propaganda organ which masquerades as a news service. One example of the increasing subtlety in the face of propaganda setbacks was the appearance of a news agency called Masterpress in Montevideo. The news agency, a front for Prensa Latina, bided for customers among the democratic newspapers and radio stations in Montevideo as an independent, objective service.

In April 1960, Tribuna Libre, a San Salvador newspaper, attacked Prensa Latina and Naul CASTELLANOS, Communist and Prensa Latina representative in El Salvador, for publishing false information to the effect that a successful military coup in El Salvador had resulted in the overthrow and flight of President Jose Maria LEMUS. Jorge Ricardo MASETTI, Argentine and head of Prensa Latina in Habana at that time, denied the charges, defended CASTELLANOS' reporting and said that Prensa Latina was prepared to use its entire network in Europe and America to show the anti-democratic attitude of the Salvadoran Government. He also intimated that Prensa Latina might plan derogatory publicity in connection with the electoral process in El Salvador.

In late April or early May 1960, Julian ORRIGOZO, a Cuban, made a payment of an unspecified amount of money to representatives of Prensa Latina in Bogota to be used to purchase a radio station in Colombia. ORRIGOZO, bearing a Cuban diplomatic passport, arrived in Bogota about 26 April and had indicated to close friends that he had come to Colombia to discredit the Colombian Government's agrarian reform program, and to organize a branch of the Communist Chinese New China News Agency in Colombia.

Violations of internal law and order by Prensa Latina (PL) prompted several Latin American Governments to take punitive counter-measures.

The Argentine Government closed the PL office in Buenos Aires on 2 December 1960 under an executive decree prohibiting publication of public media inciting insurrection that was issued following an uprising in Rosario. Several PL employees were arrested. Also in December, the Peruvian Government closed the branch offices of PL in Lima and placed them under police guard. The decree signed by the President charged that PL transmitted reports without authorization inasmuch as it was only permitted to receive news. In Caracas, El Mundo reported that the local branch chief of PL, a Colombian, was to be deported for intervening in Venezuelan internal affairs by taking part in Venezuelan politics in violation of the law.



- 69 -

As of early June 1960, La Tierra, Socialist Party newspaper in Quito, Ecuador, was said to be clandestinely subsidized by the Cuban Government through the Prensa Latina office in Quito. Prensa Latina provided La Tierra a monthly sum of money in addition to paying the salaries of the editors and writers. In return, La Tierra was making broad use of Prensa Latina material.

According to Guillermo RIOS Dugan, who worked for Prensa Latina in Cuba, the Communist Party of Cuba (Partido Socialista Popular - PEP) now controls PL completely, as Mexican interests in the agency have sold out.

During the first half of July 1961 Angel BOAN Acosta, former head of the New York office of PL, had begun negotiations with the Ministry of Communications in Mexico regarding a teletype which was being held by Mexican customs officials. BOAN, who had come to Mexico City about two months previously, was pleased with the progress of his reorganization of the PL in Mexico City and expected to go to Montevideo when it was completed.

Edmundo JARDON Argate, head of the Mexico City office of PL, receives between US \$5,000 and \$7,000 monthly for his office. PL sells its services to the following publications in Mexico: El Popular, Mexico, D.F.; El Dictamen, Ciudad Obregon, Sonora; Revista Manana; Mexico en la Cultura; cultural supplement of Novedades; cultural supplement of El Nacional; cultural supplement of El Figaro; Revista de Economia, and many other small magazines in the states.

During the first half of July 1961 the PL representative in Guatemala was arrested. The PL office in Costa Rica was closed; and Teodora MARTEN, PL representative, and Efraim RODRIGUEZ, Nicaraguan photographer, were arrested.

The PL made every effort to keep the matter quiet, however, on 20 August 1961 the press in Mexico City reported that Federal agents had arrested a correspondent of the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina on suspicion that he was a Cuban Government agent; and Mexican officials said the man, Angel BOAN Acosta, had tried to deliver a pistol to another Cuban on board a Cuban airliner about to leave Mexico for Habana.

Tegucigalpa La Voz de Honduras, 11 July 1961, carried the text of an open letter sent to President Jose Ramon VILLALBA Morales by the Honduran Women's Democratic Circle demanding the closure of the Prensa Latina news agency. Among the points set forth in the letter were that it is only a news agency financed by the Fidel CASTRO Communist regime and directed by international Communism,

- 70 -

and that the Honduran Government suspended diplomatic relations with Fidel CASTRO's Communist Government and should therefore not permit Prensa Latina to continue operating in the country as if it were the Cuban Embassy itself.

When the Prensa Latina offices in San Jose were raided by the police on 14 July 1961 the raid produced quantities of propaganda including documents offering full proof as to how this Cuban news agency is operating in Costa Rica in violation of their laws.

In April 1961 the principal leaders of the PSP met with Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA, Antonio NUNEZ Jimenez, and other government leaders at the Cuban National Printing Office in Habana. An agreement was reached to suspend the printing of school books for the next school term and in their place edit 42,000,000 books and pamphlets of Communist propaganda for Cuba and the rest of Latin America.

At the time of this meeting, the National Printing Office possessed six to ten "cultural agreements" which had recently been signed by Cuba and the Soviet Union. These contracts have virtually turned the printing office into an editing and publishing plant for the Soviet Union for the purpose of printing enormous quantities of propaganda, books, and pamphlets for all of Latin America. The terms of the contracts were very favorable to the Cubans with the Soviet Union supplying the paper and ink, which was in addition to the quantities of items included in previous agreements. Octavio FERNANDEZ, director of the National Printing Office, recently returned to Cuba from a trip to the Sino-Soviet bloc, where he had signed agreements for the publication of numerous texts in Cuba.

Propaganda material, printed in Spanish in the Soviet Union, arrived in Mexico from Cuba on a "Q" Airlines plane in May 1961. This material, consigned to Fondo de Cultura Economica, Jose Luis GONZALEZ, and Jose FERNANDEZ, was sent by Pravda of Moscow to the Cuban National Printing Office and had reached Mexico by way of Montevideo. The Fondo de Cultura Economica is one of the largest publishing houses in Latin America and is known to be a liberal firm which published some leftist works and employs some Communists. The plane returned to Habana the following day with 9,000 pounds of cargo, mainly comprising more propaganda.

On 21 May 1961 a crated casket containing an embalmed body was transported to Mexico by a Cuban airlines plane. The crate and casket were stuffed with more than 200 pounds of printed pro-Communist propaganda from the shipment.

- 71 -

In March 1961 the Peruvian Ministry of Government announced seizures of CASTRO-Communist propaganda. The police raided the Lima apartment of Alfredo ABARCA, described as a known Communist, and seized a large quantity of publications, Russian language instruction manuals, and other Communist propaganda materials emanating from Communist China and Cuba. ABARCA was arrested.

Wilfredo GARCIA, organization secretary of the Federation of Students of Peru and student at the Agrarian University, was caught red-handed in mid-June 1961 carrying subversive leaflets at the International Airport in Lima. The police seized printed material, including books and pamphlets, which GARCIA had brought from Cuba for his comrades in Peru.

The Secretary General of a Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador said at the same time that members of the Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorean Youth (URJE) had been visiting the office of the newly-appointed Cuban Consul in Guayaquil, Adolfo MARTI Fuentes, for the purpose of obtaining Cuban propaganda publications.

Not only is propaganda material being shipped both openly and surreptitiously into Latin American countries by the Cubans and the Soviets, but an attempt has been made by them to invade every medium of communication in each country in Latin America.

In Bolivia this is being attempted through the newspapers, radio and a branch of the Latin American Cultural Institute. The Communist paper, El Pueblo, has started a column called "Fidel's Column" which contains excerpts from his speeches. Another Communist newspaper, Unidad, published an article entitled "Cuba, the Standard Bearer of Liberty." And Prensa Libre, of Cochabamba, has been running a series entitled "Impressions of a visit to the Republic of Cuba," written by Benedicto DELGADILLO Pardo, Secretary General of the Central Obrera Departamental of Cochabamba, who recently returned from a trip to Cuba.

Since the almost complete liquidation of the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, from the non-Communist press of La Paz, this agency has turned to the medium of radio for the dissemination of its propaganda in Bolivia. There are now four radio stations in La Paz using news supplied by Prensa Latina. They are Altiplano, Nueva America, Continental, and Excelsior. Radio Continental is owned by the Construction Workers Union and Radio Excelsior by the Factory Workers Union. Both of these unions are extremely leftist minded. The new inroads made by Prensa Latina have been achieved on Radio Altiplano and Nueva America. Both of these stations are privately owned. Raul SAIMOS, most prominent of the

- 72 -

several owners of Nueva America, is a moderate leftist, and Mario CARRASCO, owner of Altiplano, has a long history of close association with leaders of the left wing section of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR - Nationalist Revolutionary Movement).

A branch of the Latin American Cultural Institute was organized in Bolivia in Cochabamba to spread propaganda throughout the Cochabamba Valley and another group was planned in the agricultural school of Puna in the Department of Potosi. The director of this Institute was reported by the press on 13 June 1961 to be under arrest as a principal leader of the latest conspiracy against the Government of Bolivia, and it was reported that he had received his funds from the Cuban Embassy in La Paz.

In mid-May 1961 plans were underway to organize a new pro-Cuban news agency in Brazil under the name of Mundial Press. The new news agency was to be under the direction of Aroldo Roberto Wall, former director of Rioprela, the defunct former Rio de Janeiro branch office of Prensa Latina. Wall was to reorganize the remaining assets of Rioprela into Mundial Press, which would be incorporated under Brazilian law. The functions and responsibilities of Mundial Press would continue to be the same as those of Rioprela; i.e., the dissemination of pro-CASTRO propaganda.

The mother of Ernesto "Che" GUEVARA, Bra. Calia Berna de GUEVARA, has been touring much of Latin America propagandizing on behalf of the Cuban Revolution. She gave three talks on the subject on 16 May 1961, speaking to a crowd of students, intellectuals, and workers in Salvador, Brazil. In the evening she was received by a large group of students, intellectuals and workers at the Nationalist Movement headquarters.

Fidel CASTRO is reported to have financed the building of the 260 kilowatt radio station in British Guiana which started hemisphere-wide broadcasts the end of May 1961. He also is reported to be financing the construction of a \$200,000 press installation in British Guiana.

The Movimiento Popular Argentino (Popular Argentine Movement - MPA), a pro-Cuban organization, has begun publishing a weekly paper, called Frente Argentino, in which it praises Fidel CASTRO and the Soviets. The present circulation is about 35,000.

At a Congress of the Committee for Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution in Cordoba, Argentina, it was announced in late May 1961 that the principal purpose of the Federation in the future would be to carry out a vast campaign of proselytism and propaganda throughout the country.

- 73 -

Leaders of the Society of Friends of the Cuban Revolution have a special mission of buying a small radio station in San Jose or some nearby province. They are receiving financial backing of the Cuban Government through the Cuban Ambassador in Costa Rica. It has also been reported that Prensa Latina has purchased communication equipment which will be part of this project. At the present time, the station that can be heard the most clearly in the banana zone is the Cuban propaganda station which causes interference for any other stations broadcasting.

The Chilean Communist Party has held special meetings to activate the entire Party to express solidarity with Cuba and discuss plans for propaganda activities. One of the manifestations of this effort was the distribution of 100,000 leaflets and 40,000 posters, and a 24-hour strike on 19 April 1961. Their desire was to relate the Cuban situation with local Chilean problems in order to arouse mass public support.

Manuel ARAUJO Hidalgo, leftist and former Ecuadorian Minister of Government, has been a behind-the-scenes director of the new weekly newspaper Hoy and also one of its editors. ARAUJO may have financed the newspaper with money received from the Cuban Embassy in Quito. The first issue of Hoy carried material from Prensa Latina.

Antonio MONTANE, former Second Secretary in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City, who broke with CASTRO in May 1961, said that Cuban diplomats have become agents of international Communism and that Cuban Embassies in Latin American countries are centers of Communist infiltration. Mexico, he said, is the ideal springboard for the dissemination of Communist propaganda which reaches the Cuban Embassy in fabulous quantities.

Havana-sponsored propaganda media met with some obstacles during late December 1960.

El Mundo, Caracas newspaper, reported that the Venezuelan Minister of Interior had announced that the distributor of the Cuban newspaper Revolucion would be expelled from Venezuela because of his interference in the internal affairs of that country.

Cuban Embassy officials in Montevideo were quite upset over the actions of police and customs authorities to prevent the importation of propaganda from Cuba. As a result, most Cuban propaganda is now being distributed from the presses of Talleres 33, the print shop owned by La Marcha.

Ecuadorian radio stations are mailed a daily mimeographed news roundup of news items furnished by Prensa Latina as well as news items sent regularly to the Embassy from Cuba.



- 74 -

In El Salvador Dr. Jose Francisco Valiente, a member of the Civic-Military Directorate, in a press interview on 27 January 1961 revealed that abundant Communist propaganda had recently been entering the country from Cuba, brought by Salvadorans who travelled there as guests of the CASTRO government and that there is definite evidence that the Fidel CASTRO regime gave aid to pro-Communist elements in El Salvador.

The Panamanian National Guard, accompanied by a local judge, searched the headquarters of the mixed workers' union in Colon on 6 February 1961 following a charge that Communist activities were going on there. The search netted a large quantity of books, magazines, and other Communist leaflets from Cuba and Moscow, along with Russian-Spanish dictionaries, manuals on automatic and single-action weapons, telegrams sent from the Cuban rebel army to members of the union, and correspondence direct from Moscow. Many Cuban flags, insignia with revolutionary legends, leaflets, and instructions for the labor movement were also found.

Members of various Uruguayan political parties who had visited Cuba started a tour on 3 February 1961 through Uruguay to propagandize the Cuban revolution. At a mass meeting in front of the municipal palace in Montevideo, Deputy Javier Collazo proposed a national campaign aimed at a constitutional reform for the purpose of achieving a revolution in Uruguay along Cuban lines.

Two diplomats who stopped in La Paz, Bolivia, in early 1961 en route to the Cuban Embassies in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro left films, records, and other propaganda material. The Cuban Embassy personnel are showing these films throughout La Paz in private homes to specially invited Bolivians.

A Cuban delegation composed of Sergio GONZALEZ, Jorge FOYO, and Luis CABRERA visited Bolivia in December 1960 and January 1961; their mission was to disseminate pro-Cuban and anti-United States propaganda.

Cuban propaganda coming into Bolivia consists principally of the magazines I.N.R.A., Verde Olivo, Malla, and Obras, all of which are addressed to Venito RUIZ Berlanga. Benito's son, Galileo, is in charge of distribution in La Paz; and Libreria Altiplano, a bookstore chain controlled by the Communist Party of Bolivia, distributes them in the interior. Because Argentina and Peru have prohibited the entry of Cuban propaganda and Chile has restricted its entry, the number of I.N.R.A. copies coming into Bolivia more than doubled, and all Cuban publications increased during December 1960 and January 1961. The Libreria Paginas, Communist-owned bookstore in Oruro, is now selling more Cuban magazines in the mining areas for a very small price.



- 75 -

Hernan Omar VELASQUEZ, a student in the School of Medicine at San Andres University, La Paz, visits the Czech Legation weekly to receive Communist instruction and publications. After he attended a pro-Cuban meeting on 4 February 1961, VELASQUEZ was given a large supply of Cuban propaganda for distribution.

The leadership of the Fidel Castro Youth Committee in Bolivia was reorganized in January 1961. Officers included a secretary of militia organization and an officer in charge of propaganda on Radio Continental.

In several areas of Colombia 3,000 copies of "Che" GUEVARA's book on guerrilla warfare were being distributed in early 1961. El Semanario states that the disquieting intention of such a wretched work is to instruct the people on the means of rebelling against the government, killing soldiers and setting ambushes for them, destroying communications, and so forth, to install a Communist regime in their country.

Since early January 1961 Miguel GONZALEZ de Moya, a Cuban citizen who is an employee of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization in Quito, has visited the Cuban Embassy almost daily. He actively participates in the clerical work of preparing mimeograph stencils and operating the Embassy's mimeograph equipment to turn out propaganda bulletins. He also types lists of propaganda addresses. He is considered by the Cuban officials to be a completely dedicated pro-CASTRO worker.

The Cuban Embassies have been named by numerous heads of governments in Latin America as the center for Communist infiltration of propaganda as well as the base of organization for propaganda groups to support the Cuban revolution. The Cuban Ambassadors, themselves, play leading roles in the over-all organization of the programs and participate personally in the meetings. Examples of some of their activities in the propaganda campaign are:

In a fifteen-hour discussion on 9 October 1960, Peruvian Minister of Government ELIAS Aparicio denounced before Parliament the Communist danger threatening that country. He named the Cuban Embassy and repeated his charges that quantities of propaganda material were being sent into Peru from Cuba. In addition, he charged that large sums of money to finance local propaganda efforts were arriving at the Cuban Embassy via Arequipa.

When the Cuban Ambassador Juan Jose DIAZ del Real returned to his post in Chile in early September 1960, he had a consignment of Communist propaganda material with him which was delivered to the Cuban Embassy in Buenos Aires during the plane's scheduled stop-over there.

- 76 -

Jose Antonio TABARES, Cuban Ambassador to Bolivia at that time, was particularly active in subversive activities for his country. He organized a group of people to do the propaganda work in preparation for the pro-Cuba celebrations on the 26th of July in Bolivia. TABARES used the office of the Director General of Cooperatives as the headquarters for the meetings, and a small printing press in that office was used to print the propaganda material. He personally presided at the meetings, supplied the necessary materials and paid the persons who did the work. TABARES was the main speaker at the first meeting of the "Friends of Cuba." This group was organized on the return of the Bolivian delegation to Cuba in August with large sums of money and propaganda which they brought back with them.

In addition to the usual pamphlets, leaflets and handbills, a more serious effort is being made by the Cubans to extend their propaganda effort into the literary field and, thus, reach a strata in Latin American society they have not previously been able to invade. One of the first books to be published by the recently organized Editorial de Ciencias Politicas in Montevideo is a complete study of the Cuban revolution.

Another target for Cuban efforts are students and teachers, a number of whom have been invited to visit Cuba during the winter vacation period. In Costa Rica where a point of national honor is that the country has more teachers than soldiers, members of the Asociacion de Maestros Mauro Fernandez (AMF - Costa Rican Communist teachers' group) met in September 1960 to plan a meeting of professional people in support of Cuba and to discuss plans for sending Costa Rican teachers to Cuba during January and February 1961. Arnoldo FERRERO Segura, a Costa Rican and Partido Vanguardia Popular (PVP) member, is responsible for the organization of a December trip to Cuba for thirty teachers from all parts of Latin America. The group will include as many active Communists as possible. Similarly, fifty Colombian students prepared for a Cuban trip promised by Fidel CASTRO to delegates at the Latin American Youth Congress (LAYC) in Habana. Another indication of the Cuban influence in the academic life of Latin America are the resolutions passed by the Sixth National Congress of the Union Nacional de Educadores (UNE), one of which expresses UNE solidarity "with the teachers of the new Cuba" and resolved "to back the revolution, recognizing its just fight for economic, social, political, and cultural liberation."

Another facet of the new direction in Cuban propaganda in 1960 was a powerful new government radio broadcasting facility in Cuba. The new station designed to broadcast a signal to any part of the world operates eighteen hours each day. Special propaganda

- 77 -

attacks against President Eisenhower and other political leaders in the United States were used to inaugurate broadcasting in November 1960.

The construction of the station has not diminished the use of printed propaganda material. Eighty packages of Obra Revolucionaria addressed to Rodney ARISPENDI and Eduardo VIERA arrived in Uruguay during October of 1960. Benito NARDONE, president of the Uruguayan Government Council, in his comments concerning the flood of Communist and Castroist propaganda, said that the general headquarters of Latin America Communism is located in Uruguay. The guilt of the CASTRO regime, he said, was in "having extended its tentacles over nations to drag them toward Communism." In neighboring Argentina, police found a large quantity of Communist propaganda in a printing office. Among the pamphlets seized were pieces by "Che" GUEVARA. In Costa Rica one ton of propaganda arrived in October, consigned to the head of the local Communist Party, Manuel MORA, and at about the same time some five thousand copies of Obra Revolucionaria arrived in Guayaquil, Ecuador, for leading Communists in that country. Besides the deluge of material shipped from Habana, two new periodicals printed outside Cuba have made their appearance. On 4 October 1960 Che, a pro-Cuban, anti-U.S. publication, was placed on Buenos Aires newsstands. News for the magazine is supplied by Prensa Latina; and editorial policy is directed by Pablo GIUSSANI, a member of the Communist Party. Abel Alex LATENDORF, a former Prensa Latina employee, is now on the staff of Che.

In Bolivia a new bi-monthly called Cuba Onward is the publication of the Abraham Lincoln Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Cuban People. The magazine has known Communist connections.

Persons who have played some prominent propaganda role during the late 1960 period include Boris ANDWANTER Paredes, a Chilean who worked as a traveling propagandist for the Cuban Government. ANDWANTER left Santiago in September on a trip through several Latin countries in order to coordinate the organization of pro-Cuban movements which have been acting independently. In Venezuela Jose RODRIGUEZ Marquez, attache in the Cuban Embassy, was arrested on 5 November in Maracay in connection with the sale of the Cuban newspaper Revolucion, the distributor of which was also arrested. Copies of the newspaper and the magazine Verde Olivo were seized by the government as Communist propaganda.

A large quantity of subversive Communist propaganda was confiscated at San Jose's airport during the first week of August 1961. In the same week several bags of Communist propaganda were

- 78 -

confiscated in Panama and also in the Republic of El Salvador. All this propaganda came from Cuba, through passengers en route from there. The Costa Rican nationalist movement, through the Costa Rican press, has denounced the abuse committed by the Cuban Embassy, accused of being the distributor in the country of large quantities of Communist propaganda. CASTRO's systematic campaign and his public declarations plainly demonstrate that he is working for the Chinese and Russian Communists.

On 2 June 1961 the Ecuadorean delegation to the May Day celebration in Habana returned to Guayaquil by KLM from Curacao accompanied by Pedro Antonio SAAD Ryain, Secretary-General of the PCR. The delegation brought back 1,760 pounds of Cuban propaganda, consisting of Revolucion and a special supplement of the same newspaper which contained several articles concerning Cuba. This was the largest single air shipment of Cuban propaganda ever to be received in Guayaquil.

On 19 May 1961 the Frente de Reforma Universitaria (FRU - University Reform Front), Communist-oriented student group in Honduras, distributed the first issue of a new series of Vanguardia, its newspaper, first published in 1959. One of the main reasons for the publication of the newspaper is to circulate news about Cuba, since Tribuna Revolucionaria, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Honduras (PCR), and Adelante, the newspaper of the Honduran Revolutionary Party (PRH), have been suppressed by the government.

On 14 June 1961 Rigoberto PADILLA Rush returned to Tegucigalpa after spending several weeks in Cuba. He said that neither he nor Mario GONZALES, a fellow-traveller, who returned with a large quantity of books, was bothered by the Honduran customs officials at the airport.

Tegucigalpa La Voz de Honduras presented an open letter on 14 July 1961 which was sent by the Honduran Democratic Women's Circle to President Ramon VILLEDA Morales. The women's circle pointed out that Hondurans traveled to Cuba and then returned to promote and distribute Communist propaganda. The letter advised the President to deny the Hondurans re-entry into the country.

Cuban Foreign Minister Raul ROA arrived in Mexico City on 23 June 1961. The press reported that Habana radio had quoted ROA as saying upon his arrival in Cuba that "imperialist agents of Ambassador MANN" had thrown a bomb at the Cuban Embassy on 29 June. Investigation by local correspondents revealed that an empty tear gas can heaved into the Cuban Embassy grounds had caused the Embassy guard to call firemen. It was believed to be

- 79 -

the work of a prankster, but Cuban radio reports depicted the incident as an attempt on ROA's life.

The Mexican Foreign Ministry informed the diplomatic corps in Mexico on 27 June 1961 that "henceforth the diplomatic pouch can only be used for official documents and not for propaganda material." Political circles believed that the measure would affect particularly the Cuban Embassy. Government intervention on 29 June made possible the seizure of three tons of Cuban Government publications which Mexican officials described as propaganda. The books, pamphlets, and magazines were carried in a plane from Habana and were consigned to the Cuban Embassy and several private distributors of publications in Mexico. The material was not sent as diplomatic mail.

A total of 3,700 kilos of Soviet propaganda materials destined for Cuba arrived in Mexico by CPA on 27 June 1961. It included Union Sovietica, Literatura Sovietica, and Films Sovieticos.

Twenty-four sacks containing Communist propaganda from Moscow, Peking, and East Germany, shipped in Cuban diplomatic pouches, were seized by Mexican authorities at Mexico City airport on 21 July 1961. Three similar shipments had already been confiscated.

Jose PALOMAR Marcos, who recently returned from the Soviet Union contacted Teresa PROENZA Proenza, Cuban Embassy employee, on 29 June 1961, to request the aid of the Cuban Embassy. He explained that the police were holding a shipment of Bohemia and asked to have the Embassy intercede in the matter. Cubana airlines brought 46 packages of magazines consigned to PALOMAR on 30 June. PALOMAR represents Bohemia, Verde Olivo, and INRA, Cuban publications, and is a self-admitted Communist.

Again, on 25, 28, and 31 July 1961, Cuban propaganda materials were brought into Mexico aboard Cubana airlines. The shipments consisted of newspapers, books, films, magazines, records, and booklets which were destined for Tijuana, Veracruz, Montevideo, San Jose, Valparaiso, Santiago, Quito, Cayasquil, Kingston, Hong Kong, Yokohama, and Tokyo. As in June, the materials were consigned to the Cuban Embassy and Consulates and to specific individuals.

Twelve packages containing Soviet and Cuban propaganda were seized by Mexican Federal Government agents in Mexico City from Mexican and Guatemalan students returning from Habana the morning of 12 August.



- 80 -

Eleazer MORALES Aragon, UNAM student leader, visited Cuba from 19 - 27 June 1961. On his return to Mexico authorities confiscated Cuban propaganda material which he was carrying. MORALES has been working for Prensa Latina in Mexico and uses it as a center from which he coordinates his many student activities. He has been in touch with the Cuban Embassy in Mexico since 1959.

When Manuel MARCUE Pardinaz, prominent Mexican Marxist and director general of Politica, Mexican leftist, pro-Cuba, rabidly anti-U.S., semi-monthly magazine, was in Cuba in May 1961 he outlined a plan to the Cuban Government officials for extending the circulation of Politica to Cuba and other "friendly" Latin American countries. MARCUE had several interviews with President Osvaldo DORTICOS, Fidel CASTRO, and Carlos FRANQUI Mesa, director of Revolucion; and he told them that the Cuban Government would have to furnish the funds for the purchase of additional printing equipment to make the expansion of Politica possible. Raul ROA Garcia, Cuban Foreign Minister, told MARCUE on 29 May that the Cuban Government was giving favorable consideration to the plan. ROA and "Che" GUEVARA are very interested in having the magazine get to Cuba. MARCUE told ROA that the purpose of Politica is to deal in a less aggressive manner and that it must express itself mildly in order to be permitted to continue to exist in Mexico.

In order to avoid problems at the airport in exporting the magazines to Cuba, Rosendo GOMEZ Lorenzo, editor-in-chief of Politica, told MARCUE's wife, Concha, to send the packages with the magazines to Jorge ROJAS of Cubana Airlines in Mexico, D.F. for forwarding on to Cuba.

Constantino JACOBY, a professor at the University of Chile in Santiago, recently travelled to Cuba and returned with a large quantity of revolutionary propaganda, especially phonograph records, poems, and speeches. JACOBY, a member of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh), is married to Tomasa ROMEO Gil de Jacoby, also a member of the PCCh. Both JACOBY and his wife have been reported to be members of the Instituto Chileno-Sovietico de Cultura.

Maria COL, a Marxist propaganda agent of the Cuban Government, visited in Cartagena, Colombia, in July 1961. While in Colombia COL showed several motion picture films on Cuba and the Governments of the Soviet Union and Communist China to selected groups of labor leaders and workers. The most active collaborators in COL's efforts were members of the Communist Party of Colombia (PCC).

The Grupo de Amistad Latinoamericana (Latin American Friendship Group) met on 1 June 1961 at the home of Edelberto TORRES



- 81 -

Espinoza, Nicaraguan exile leader in Mexico. The group discussed plans to hold a series of lectures regarding the Cuban revolution. Individuals scheduled to participate were Ramon GRULLON, Dominican Communist; Guatemalan students who have returned from a trip to Cuba; Edelberto TORRES Espinoza, and Mario MADRIGAL, Nicaraguans; Melquiades EGIDO, Bolivian painter; Luis DIAZ Chavez, Honduran; and Salvador OCAMPO, Chilean Communist.

Panamanian postal authorities were confiscating and destroying an average of three to four sacks of Communist propaganda weekly for several months prior to June 1961. The great majority of it originated in Cuba, and some came from the Soviet bloc.

Since his return to Panama on 6 June 1961 Guillermo RIOS Dugan, a Panamanian resident of Cuba, has been very active in disseminating pro-Cuban propaganda. He has held periodic meetings with teachers and has lectured to them on the advances and conquests of the Cuban revolution. He lectured on youth groups under the leadership of Roberto Kraus, a member of the Communist Party of Panama (PDP).

On 29 June 1961 members of the Chiriqui Regional Committee (CRC) of the PDP met in routine session. They agreed to send RIOS, who was visiting in Chiriqui Province, to lecture on Cuba and the Cuban revolution in Progreso and the surrounding area from 5 - 8 July, accompanied by Chiari PALACIOS Salinas, a Guaymí Indian leader. CRC members considered this lecture tour as a resounding success and instructed RIOS and PALACIOS to go on a three-day tour, beginning on 11 July, to Concepcion and the surrounding areas. From that point they were to go to the mountain region of Tole, Sabalo, and areas where PALACIOS was brought up. RIOS was to lecture to the Indians in Spanish, with PALACIOS translating into Guaymí, the local Indian language.

CRC members also assigned Simon VARGAS and Carlos SARMIENTO to travel to Potrerillos on 9 July to speak to the people of that town. VARGAS spoke to a group of pro-Cubans on the economic and industrial development he had observed during his visit to Cuba, emphasizing the advantages and progress of the Cuban revolution. SARMIENTO described the cooperatives in Cuba, saying that they were truly organized by and operated for the individual workers, in contrast to the capitalist systems used in Panama. Upon their return to David, VARGAS and SARMIENTO told CRC members that they had been very well received in Potrerillos and had been requested to lecture at El Branco, a nearby farm, where a number of the workers were said to be keenly interested in the Cuban revolution. The CRC also learned that the people of Mata Rica, near the Jualaca District, fifteen miles from David, had expressed great interest in VARGAS, his lectures, and his visit to Cuba. These

- 82 -

people had specifically asked that he be sent to their town to talk to them. CRC members also learned that requests had been received for lectures at La Pita, approximately twelve miles from David; and from Chocoma, approximately ten miles south of David.

The Cuban Government is installing a 120-kilowatt radio station on the Hacienda de las Rosas, in Wajay, Habana Province. This station, which will be one of the most powerful in Latin America, will broadcast programs aimed at inciting armed rebellion in Latin America and will transmit secret orders in code to Latin American and Spanish Communists. Santiago ALVAREZ, also known as "El Gallego," a Spanish Communist, will head the board of directors of the station, and Sergio NICOLS, a Catalan Communist, will also sit on the board. The Cuban Government will give Peronist residents of Habana two half-hours a week of broadcasting time on the station. The Peronist programs will be called "La Voz del Pueblo Argentino" and "Aqui Radio Peronismo." Mameia Meyer Manblat, an Argentine Jewish Communist, will be the program announcer. Before 1955 Meyer acted as the contact between Angel Gabriel Borlenghi, then Argentine Minister of Interior, and "secret apparatus" in the Kremlin. It was reported in April 1960 that Prensa Latina expected to receive radio equipment from the Soviet Union which would enable it to construct a 100-kilowatt station at Wajay, where a large radio station already existed. In February 1961, it was reported that the government radio station in Wajay maintains direct contact with Prague and Moscow 24 hours a day. More powerful radio equipment has been ordered from West Germany.

-03-

L. United Political Fronts

In January 1961 the Mexican Communist Party sent a message to the Partido Socialista (PPS - Popular Socialist Party); the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI - Mexican Government Party); the Partido Obrero-Campesino Mexicano (POCM - Workers' and Farmers' Party of Mexico); and the Partido Autentico de la Revolucion Mexicana (PARM - Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution), proposing that all political parties which have shown themselves sympathetic to the Cuban revolution form a united front to aid Cuba.

In Panama the Frente Unido Democratico (FUD) was organized during January 1961. The FUD directorate was elected and sworn in after taking an oath to defend the Cuban revolution and to keep active the effort for the Panamanian revolution. Jorge Turner Morales urged that the FUD carry out a campaign to remove from Panamanian territory anti-CASTRO Cuban exiles and the U.S. Ambassador. Jaime PADILLA Beliz gave information on anti-CASTRO exiles which he had obtained through the Newspaperman's Guild of Cuba. PADILLA said that as correspondent in Panama for Prensa Latina, Cuban news agency, he was carrying out a strong campaign to have such Cuban exiles deported from the country.

During the month of January, there was a considerable increase in the number of pro-CASTRO demonstrations held in Paysandu, Uruguay. This was the result of a series of meetings held among leaders of the Paysandu Student Center (CUBES); the Student Culture and Work Group (AECT), a Trotskyist organization; and the Student-Worker Plenum of Paysandu (POPEP), a Communist front. The Popular Committee for Support of the Cuban Revolution held the last and largest demonstration of the month on 30 January advertising as speakers three legislators who had just returned from Cuba. These were Ariel COLIAZO, UBD; Arturo DUBRA, Socialist Party; and Enrique RODRIGUEZ, Communist Party. As a result of propaganda designed to convince the public that the demonstration was impartial and in contrast to the previous demonstrations which were generally ignored, the demonstration attracted an audience of about 2,000 persons.

In June 1961 intellectual members of the Salvadoran Communist Party assumed direction of the Frente Unido de Accion Revolucionaria (FUAR - United Front for Revolutionary Action), a leftist subversive organization devoted to penetration and propaganda work. On 9 June at a meeting of the National University of El Salvador, Prof. Salvador CARCANO, a member of the FUAR, stressed the necessity of appealing to the sector of the population living under the most miserable conditions.

-34-

CARCANO cited Fidel CASTRO as having set the course which the FUAR should follow. CARCANO is a member of the Society of Friends of Cuba and a Communist assigned to penetrate student organizations at the National University of El Salvador.

In Argentina the first provincial convention of the new political party Trabajo y Progreso ("Work and Progress") was held in Santa Fe in February. Large pictures of Fidel CASTRO and Patrice Lumumba were displayed, along with the Argentine and Cuban flags, on the speakers' platform. The audience paid homage to the Cuban people at the opening of the session.

A new popular party was formed in August 1961 in the city of Tucuman, in the north of Argentina. It is called the Union and Progress Movement. The party fervently supports the Cuban revolution as well as the activity and the program of the Work and Labor Party.

The Movimiento Popular Argentino (Popular Argentine Movement - MPA) was organized under the leadership of Juan Antonio BORTHAGARY to bring together the pro-Cuban and anti-imperialist activities being carried out independently by various leftist groups. Although the main center of the MPA was in Buenos Aires, where there were over twenty recruiting centers, similar groups, with the same purposes but operating under different names, has been established in several of the provinces. In Mendoza, the MPA was known as the Partido Progresivo (Progressive Party), and in Santa Fe as Trabajo y Progreso (Work and Progress). The MPA was also established in Cordoba under its own name.